

Open Eye

• Challenging Media Censorship •

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Issue 3, 1995

The Free Market Myth

Noam Chomsky

Heretical Science

Alternative medicine, Aids
and Duncan Campbell

Who Bombed Earth First?

Ward Churchill

Icke and the Nazis

GATT: Global Plunder

Tim Lang

MI5 Targets Greens

Larry O'Hara

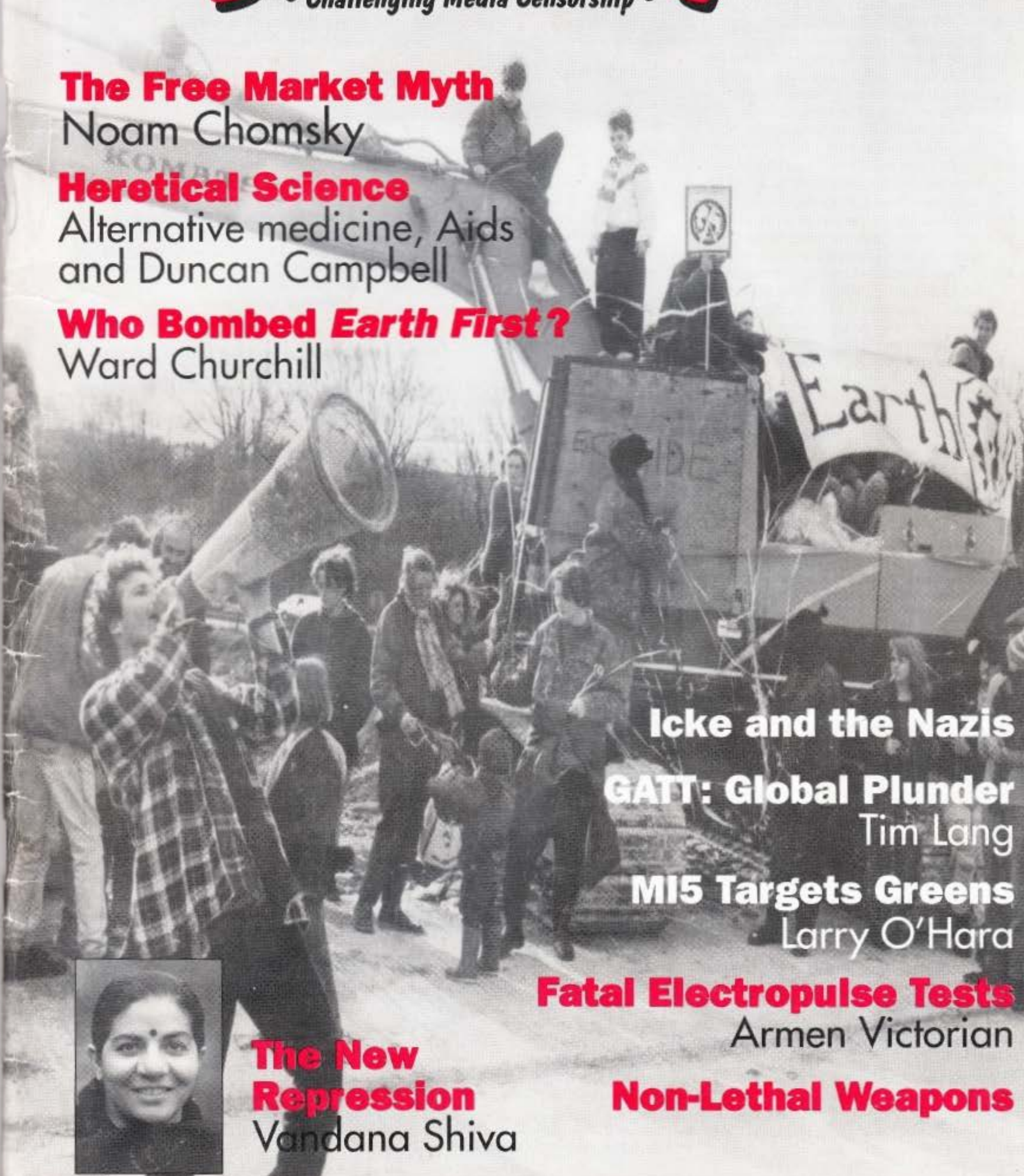
Fatal Electropulse Tests

Armen Victorian

Non-Lethal Weapons

The New Repression

Vandana Shiva



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Photo: Black & White and Green

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We welcome all correspondence and do our best to reply. Please mark letters which are for publication.

If you would like to write for *Open Eye*, interview someone or otherwise contribute, please get in touch (articles on paper or 3.5" disc please).

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Open Eye needs people to help with some of the work of putting out the magazine. If you would like to see *Open Eye* more regularly and feel you can help in any way please write to *Open Eye*.

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Issue 1 Falklands War – Untold Story; Italy and NATO-terrorism; Philip Agee on Gulf War/ New World Order; the Cancer Business; Economic League blacklisting; FBI's secret wars; Bush's 'Third World' War. £1.70.....

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Editorial

With the end of the Thatcherite Cold War ideological framework diverse political and social viewpoints are being allowed an airing. Unfortunately the British state seems determined to stifle social change with coercive new laws and media propaganda. With national politics exposed as a Third World-style pseudo-politics of 'low intensity' democracy, new community-based radicalism is a thriving alternative, in need of everyone's participation.

Readers' letters

Please state clearly whether letters are for publication and if name/address are to be attached. Letters may be edited.

Body politic

I very much like *Open Eye*. What caught my attention was the article by Noam Chomsky who's been a hero of mine for years. I appreciate the Alternative Press Section. What's curious to me is how many of the alternative press publications I subscribe to are from the States as opposed to the UK ones – not for any reason of choice but simply because I didn't know they existed. So I appreciate the data.

I do recommend a couple of others – one of which I helped finance called *Censored* – and the other, *Tranet*. I also think *World Watch* is brilliant and of course *Mother Jones*. See what you think. You must also glance your eye over *Adbusters*, a Vancouver based anti-ad magazine – it is quite sensational.

I'm sorry my company causes your partner vitriolic responses – maybe he should come down and pose the questions, find the facts and then decide on which viewpoint?

Take care and good luck.

Anita Roddick

Body Shop International, Watersmead, Littlehampton, West Sussex,
BN17 6LS, Tel 01903 731500

(PS Here's a good quote that sums up *Open Eye*: "Be courageous – it's the only place left uncrowded.")

(Note—the magazine 'Censored – America's Censored News' has recently folded; however the 'Operation Censored Project' itself is still carrying out its important and unique work. (See p50). Address of 'WorldWatch': 1776 Massachusetts Ave, NW, Washington, DC 20036 (sub S30); 'Mother Jones': PO Box 58249, Boulder, CO 80322, USA. For others see p52.)

'Beam' weapons?

Regarding the Verney case [*Open Eye* 2, page 28-29], I see very little more that we can do. I am in receipt of copies of all letters Verney has written regarding the subject, and the replies from MPs, the House of Commons, Prime Minister etc. I have no doubt in my own mind that Verney fell foul of the security services who used various devices and tactics to persuade him to leave Dargle Cottage. We know of the sort of "beam weapon" which has been developed to do what Verney implies was done to him and his family. It even has a name, "Gypsy". Such beam weapons, although they don't officially exist, are listed in the Board of Trade Export Licence document for anyone to see. And yet, even with all this circumstantial evidence pointing the finger at a "dirty tricks" department, we have not one shred of proof. In the end, to stand the story up, someone is going to have to put it to the MOD Press Office and within a short period of time of that happening, you will

undoubtedly receive a call, stressing that the MOD would rather that you didn't proceed with the story. I am sure that I need not push this point further.

Mr. Verney is one of several men who have enjoyed electro-magnetic peculiarities in their home environment. All have suffered mentally and physically. All have a history of being involved with signals units during the Second World War. All their troubles seemed to start after they had complained to their various electricity boards about the anomalies. I suspect that the files on properties near to and including those of the complainants were "flagged" because of their proximity to MOD properties. Background checks would automatically have been carried out on the individuals concerned, which was fine until someone realised that with their signals background, they, more than anyone else, might have known or have been able to deduce what was going on. Irrespective of the fact that these perceived "threats" to the nation's security were all old men in their seventies, someone decided not to take the risk and the result is several cases along the lines of the Verney case.

Although too much time has passed since the beginnings of Verneys' troubles, other stories are reaching me that strange things are happening to people in various parts of woodland—nausea, loss of vision, disorientation—all symptoms of electro-magnetic beam weapons. It is thought that such weapons might be being used as an alternative to a perimeter fence in sensitive locations. As an example of this, there are several reports of such weapons having been used against the peace camp women at Greenham Common. Uri Geller, in his book *The Geller Effect*, also noticed the strange use of the back focus of a radar dish being used to affect the Greenham Common crowds. Food for thought perhaps.

John Rymouth

(Address withheld on request)

A Positive note

We have just read the first two issues of your magazine and we would like to congratulate you on some excellent material. The pieces by Chomsky, Agee and Livingstone are just right: after reading them you end up feeling more informed and more able to resist the usual propaganda that masquerades as news and comment in the mainstream media. The piece on South Africa by Merrett was a very useful antidote to the standard way that township vi-

olence is presented in the media, where the killing is put across as if it comes from inherent character defects in black people rather than provocateurs and people bribed by the regime. The piece on natural childbirth is also excellent: the writer gives a clear picture of a crucial terrain of struggle where women have organised brilliantly against entrenched sexist attitudes. This is left journalism at its best.

We think it is important that magazines like yours should continually ask whether their content is going to inspire and empower its readers or leave them feeling confused and helpless. We don't have the luxury of being clever for the sake of it or just presenting horrors and making the world appear threatening and dangerous. We need an analysis which helps us make sense of what happens and gives us an idea of how to organise for meaningful change. We also need a sense that we are part of an international movement which is going to create a better world.

From this perspective the piece on ecofeminism by Ruether is seriously flawed. It was particularly surprising to read that "*The medical conquest of disease ... insufficiently matched by birth limitation, especially among the poor, has created a population explosion that is rapidly outrunning the food supply.*" It is vital that we do not swallow the right-wing line that we need to educate (or coerce) poor people in the Third World into having fewer children. Experience has consistently shown that eliminating poverty and providing basic sanitation and preventive health care are the key to lowering the birth rate. The problem is capitalism, not science.

As for the article by Lopez-Jones on pornography, if we were agents paid by the secret police to infiltrate the left and sow division and confusion, we couldn't have done better. There is nothing like a working-class person accusing middle-class activists of ignoring economic issues to paralyse everyone with guilt and mutual mistrust. The bland generalities ("*Many feminists have refused to deal with the fact that ...*"), the attack on the very idea that women can unite ("*Anti-porn feminists ask us to ... set aside the divisions among us ...*"), and the implication that campaigners against pornography failed to support the miners ("*Should we not have supported the 1984-5 strike of mining communities ...*")—it's all perfect stuff for dividing the left. Articles like this are deadly and should be left for the *Guardian*, where stuff like this appears all too often.

On a more positive note, here is a suggestion. If we had to name the major cause of misery and the largest brake on positive social change in the world today, it would be "Structural Adjustment" programmes which have been forced on dozens and dozens of Third World countries by the IMF and the World Bank in recent times. Under these programmes, which Chomsky and Agee both mention in passing in *Open Eye*, the rich get richer, the poor get poorer, and the left gets marginalised. We have recently returned from Zimbabwe and could write something for you about how the process is crippling ►



Outlook US 'School of Dictators' stays open

Pressure is mounting on the US government to close down the 'School of the Americas' (SOA) training centre at Fort Benning in Georgia—nicknamed 'Escuela des culpas', the School of Coups. Founded to train military personnel from Latin American countries in the skills of low-intensity conflict, psychological operations, counter-insurgency, commando operations and interrogation methods, the School—which operated in relative obscurity for many years—has produced some of the most brutal human rights abusers and dictators in the hemisphere. Of the 57,000 who have been trained, notable graduates include Salvadorean right-wing death squad leader Roberto D'Aubuisson, Manuel Noriega, Haitian police chief Joseph-Michel François—who helped oust elected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide—as well as General Galtieri who oversaw the

last two years of Argentina's 'dirty war', a war in which around 10,000 suspected dissidents



were 'disappeared' and torture was routine. The UN Truth Commission Report on El Salvador released in 1993 found that SOA graduates also featured prominently in the list of perpetrators of atrocities and human rights abuses. Of the twenty-seven officers cited for involvement in the massacre of six

Jesuit priests, their housekeeper and her teenage daughter, nineteen were graduates of SOA training programmes. One of the lieutenants who conducted the murder operation had taken a course in commando operations at the School only the previous year. Two of the three officers cited for the assassination of Archbishop Romero were SOA graduates. The Truth Commission also named officers involved in the El Mozote massacre of hundreds of unarmed civilians; ten of the twelve were trained at the SOA. Some graduates have shown nobler behaviour: one objected to a massacre of civilians in San Sebastian in 1988—but was overruled by his commanding officer. Another graduate, who gave the go-ahead for the operation. It is a similar story in other countries: Guatemala, Bolivia, Honduras, Peru... Of the ten former presidents of the Latin American countries who were SOA graduates not a single one was elected.

Since 1993 human rights training has ►5

one Third World country. Maybe you could find a Development Studies specialist to write something giving the broader picture.

Looking forward to future issues.

Best wishes,

Chana Moshenska and Raphael Salkie

38 Riley Road, Brighton, BN2 4AH

Mysterious deaths

Have you ever read Tony Collins' *Open Verdict*? In it he chronicles the "mysterious deaths" of 25 persons associated with Britain's defense industry. The execution of Jonathan Moyle has the characteristics of several of the cases cited in *Open Verdict*. In fact, several of the persons were employed by Marconi Under Water Systems. [See *Open Eye* 2, page 4.]

I once wrote a precis of *Open Verdict*. The thing which struck me as a common thread was that all of the persons had employment which might have brought them into contact with the United States Navy. All of this is, I can assure you, also related to the attempted murder of Mr and Mrs Anthony Verney. [*Open Eye* 2, page 28-29]

About two years ago, I had an opportunity to discuss this matter with Air Marshal Lord Craig. I reminded him that the Secretary of Defence Casper Weinberger had promised the help of the United States in investigating the "mysterious deaths". Lord Craig expressed to me his continuing concern about those "mysterious deaths". I was standing at that moment within an arm's length of Lord Craig, and I can assure you that his expressions of concern were genuine.

I do not know who murdered Jonathan Moyle, but I believe the enclosed letter speaks for itself. I hope you will give it the widest possible circulation. I am certain the woman to whom it is addressed would appreciate your removing her name if you publish it.

Dear Ms *****,

We are sorry to report that we are unable to proceed further with your interlibrary loan request for 'Open Verdict'.

We were able to find only one location in the US for this title—the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency Library—and they were unable to lend.

Sincerely, *****

Interlibrary Loan, **** County Library.

Very truly yours,

Harlan Girard

PO Box 58700, Philadelphia, PA 19103-8700, USA.

[*Open Eye* has obtained a few copies of this unnerving book. See page 51 for details.]

New pathogens

Your magazine contains much of interest. I was particularly interested in your article on AIDS which neatly summarises the various arguments on the HIV hypothesis, and rightly gives credit to *Spin* magazine, which has been almost alone among large circulation publications in consistently challenging the conventional thinking and giving coverage to alternative theories. Nevertheless, the fact that there are apparent AIDS cases without the presence of the HIV virus does not prove that HIV cannot be a cause of AIDS, only that it cannot be the *only* cause. Immune deficiency syndrome (IDS) may possibly be Acquired (A) through other means—for example, exposure to radiation (which has increased for all of us since 1945) is known to depress immune system functioning, while the long-term effects of the many man-made industrial and agricultural chemicals now polluting our environment are not known, but they are clearly contributing to the continued growth in various forms of cancer—perhaps they could also be a factor in the spread of AIDS? These facts counter Duesberg's assertion that psychoactive drugs are the

only new pathogens around since the 70s—furthermore natural psychoactive drugs have been used in many societies since time immemorial without apparently producing these effects.

As for AZT, I understand that a recent study has overwhelmingly indicated that HIV-positive women taking AZT are less likely to pass on the virus to their unborn children than women in a control group not given AZT. Given previous false claims made by some AIDS researchers from Gallo downwards, how valid is this finding? I hope you will continue to cover new developments in AIDS research. Personally I would like to see more research directed towards finding out, not how AIDS patients get sick, but how long-term HIV carriers who do *not* come down with AIDS stay healthy. This is clearly vital to understanding the claimed link between HIV and AIDS, and if the link is proved, to keep other HIV-infected people from developing full-blown AIDS.

Yours faithfully,

R.P.

Hong Kong.

"Open? Eye"

Ref: THE CANCER BUSINESS
Multivitamins are a business TOO! Quack cures to tempt the desperate are a business TOO! 'Natural' medicines campaign to avoid animal testing [is] because it will reduce [their] profits NOT because they care about animals! We don't need another GURU, just facts. Selling MUMBO-JUMBO by the pound is no more 'moral' than selling armaments'.

Anonymous

(Postmark: Southampton, 4th March 1994)

[Editorial note: this letter was mailed to an old address and only recently surfaced. *Open Eye* 1 included an article on "The Cancer Business", though it made no mention of multivitamins, gurus etc. A second anonymous letter from the same source sent the previous day stated that "Religion is a rusty nail people hang their hatred on. They are establishment! Kill!"

Searchlight magazine probed

Back in 1977 Gerry Gable, now editor of the anti-fascist magazine *Searchlight*, wrote a series of confidential research documents for LWT. One of them—known as the 'Gable Memorandum'—smeared prominent leftwingers and journalists including Phil Kelly, later to edit *Tribune*, and Duncan Campbell with accu-

sations of links to terrorism, the KGB, Carlos the Jackal and suchlike. Gable rounded it off with a promise to follow up by checking on the names he had acquired with the British and French security services, somebody in the Israeli Foreign Office and with the Foreign Affairs Research Institute which has "strong CIA

links". Duncan Campbell, who co-wrote the article "Destabilising the 'decent people'" which made this episode public in 1980, is not alone in thinking to this day that it is clear evidence that Gable traded information with the security services—a charge which Gable finally appeared to admit in a letter to the *New Statesman* (22/10/93), though adding that criticisms of his actions were "hypocritical" as "others had certainly had dealings with the security services".

In 1977 MI5 had been trying to undermine public support for CIA-critic Philip Agee and a US journalist who were threatened with expulsion from the UK. The circulation of propaganda, by Gable, involving the KGB and Middle Eastern/Palestinian terrorists would scare away the two Americans' liberal supporters like nothing else.

More recently, in the 1980s, occasional attacks by *Searchlight* on direct action-orientated groups without links to fascism, such as squatter activists, Class War, Meibion Glyndwr and animal rights supporters fuelled suspicions that Gable still might be exchanging information with MI5 and helping them to penetrate and damage perceived 'subversives'. A sympathetic profile of Gable in the *Jewish Chronicle* (23/10/87) did

indeed mention "a wide range of contacts including people in the secret services" as sources for stories in *Searchlight*.

Recently, once more, suspicions have been raised by the activities of a BNP activist, Tim Hepple, who became a mole for *Searchlight* and wrote *At War with Society*—a study of Britain's far right based on his



Having said that, a number of interesting things have come to light since November. I have fired a lot of weapons & learned a lot about 'street warfare'. I suppose (ultimately) I

◀ Tim Hepple, *Searchlight's* mole in the far Right as well as in the green and anarchist movements. "I have fired a lot of weapons & learned a lot about 'street warfare'", Hepple boasted. Why?

personal involvement. A number of actions cast doubt on Hepple's motives: he seemed just as involved with the green and anarchist movements as he was with fascists and on one occasion offered the magazine *Green Anarchist* a list of the home addresses of alleged 'nazis' which he hoped they would publish—at considerable risk to themselves. Luckily the magazine was warned, by Larry O'Hara, that the contents of this list were dubious and that its source was a *Searchlight* mole. Later, however, a different radical group, the anarchist 'Class War Organisation', was sent the same list anonymously. They went ahead and printed it and were immediately denounced by *Searchlight*, whose mole had originally circulated it, for publicising a fraudulent list! The group's founder Tim Scargill was then accused by Gable of being in the violent nazi group 'Combat 18' despite attacks on his property and threats against him by C-18. Gable also accused him of targeting the anarchist bookshop 'Freedom' for an arson attack by C-18. These smears recently surfaced again in the London *Evening Standard* following the major anti-Criminal Justice Bill demonstration in October 1994, and in *Time Out*.

Spurious attacks on *Searchlight's* leftwing

critics, including Robin Ramsay, editor of *Lobster*, and researcher Larry O'Hara, who writes for the Green Party Anti-Racist and Anti-Fascist Network, *Lobster* and *Tribune*, have become commonplace in the magazine's pages. Surprisingly, Hepple himself admitted in letters to *Green Anarchist* magazine that Gable was running a "vicious smear

campaign" against O'Hara, Scargill and others. He also wrote of his concerns that something was going on with similarities to the FBI's undercover COINTELPRO operations of the 1960s and early 70s which secretly broke up radical movements, often turning them against each other: "the activists were set up and smeared", he wrote, "and the groups all split."

In a recent publication, *At War with the Truth*, Larry O'Hara detailed further evidence which could point to the even more chilling conclusion that Hepple may have been trying to turn the *Green Anarchist* team into a hi-tech armed cell—in which he would have a central role. Whether on behalf of a hidden hand in MI5, we may never know. Constant boasts of his 'weapons training' along with his wish to purchase a radio scanner for listening to the police and walkie-talkies, using money from Gable, show the direction things were going before O'Hara stepped in with well-timed warnings. "Gable", Hepple boasted to *Green Anarchist*, "is financing our expansion into the world of high-tech communications!"

At around the same time, a US group with similarities to *Searchlight*, the 'Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith'—a respected group fighting anti-semitism—was exposed as having become a domestic political spying outfit for the FBI, as well as for the South African and Israeli governments. Investigators discovered that over a period of nearly 50 years they had engaged in the collection for profit of information on many thousands of political groups and individuals including the Palestine Solidarity Committee, the ANC, the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., ACT UP, Greenpeace, the American Indian Movement, Earth First! and Noam Chomsky.

All this evidence against *Searchlight* can be dismissed as circumstantial, and yet even more keeps on piling up. *Searchlight's* own editorial in January 1994 argued that investigation into nazis in Britain should be handed over to MI5, MI6 or a special police unit! Gable concedes that "This proposal might astonish some of our readers."

Gerry Gable's only response to concerned critics has been to complain that the questions raised by Larry O'Hara and others will damage his magazine's "key intelligence role" as a listening post on rightwingers, and also to constantly label critics as 'nazis' and 'fascists' or, ironically, as being MI5-linked. ▶

4◀ been included on the curriculum, but with little positive effect on the students: "all they wanted to do was bash human-rights groups" said one trainer. Powerful critics do exist, Congressman Joseph Kennedy continues to put down amendments to close the School of the Americas which, he says, "costs millions of dollars and identifies us with tyranny and oppression". Though well-supported, they have so far failed. Activists too have kept up the pressure to close the School by fasting on the steps of Capitol Hill.

Those who know about past US covert political interventions to promote US business-friendly 'democracy', in Nicaragua for instance, may be interested to hear that the decade-old organisation which is used to channel the funds for such operations—the National Endowment for Democracy

(NED)—has recently been joined by a British version called the 'Westminster Foundation for Democracy' (budget £2.2 million; board appointed by the Foreign Secretary). "Immensely impressed", chairman Tory MP Sir James Spicer praised the NED as "the embodiment of democratic internationalism". (See *Open Eye* 2, pages 19-25).

The NED kept up its sterling work recently, with policies aimed at marginalising the mass-based democratic civic organisations which helped bring Aristide to power in Haiti. NED chose instead to support elite-linked think tanks and political groups that were the base of support for the 1991 coup.

• SOA Watch (PO Box 3330, Columbus, GA 31903 USA; tel 706 682 5369) have recently produced a 20 min video, "School of Assassins", narrated by Susan Sarandon.

• Source: Patrick Hughes, Canada.

Outlawing privacy

Alastair McKinstry and Matthew M analyse the long battle between the global US electronic spying network and their target: us

Code-breaking was vital to the 1945 allied war victory, and central to the US/NATO Cold War against the Soviet Union. The American National Security Agency (NSA) built up a global spying network of which the UK's GCHQ is part. Spying on the Russians had a useful 'by-product', the ability to routinely listen in on all international telecommunications. The recent introduction of digital exchanges has made domestic interception much easier. However this important source of governmental power may have been defeated... by a clever piece of maths.

In 1991 a software writer, Phil Zimmerman, using ideas already in commercial use, wrote and made available as freeware PGP (Pretty Good Privacy). This is a very sophisticated piece of encryption software for scrambling computer data. As Zimmerman writes:

"Intelligence agencies have access to good cryptographic technology. So do the big arms and drugs smugglers. So do defence contractors, oil companies and other corporate giants. But ordinary people and grass-roots political organisations have not had access to military-grade public key encryption technology... until now."

Public key encryption software like PGP uses complex algorithms but is simple to use. The software creates two files: a public key and a private key. The public key encrypts data and the private key decrypts it. You give your public key to anyone who wants to send a message to you—that is you make it publicly available. But you keep your private key—which is the only way in the world of decoding the message—to yourself. As John Perry Barlow of the Electronic Frontier Foundation says: *"You can have my encryption algorithm when you pry my cold dead fingers from my private key"*.

The principal weakness of previous cyphers was the need to secretly exchange the decryption code. PGP can only be cracked by number-crunching, and only supercomputers can do this whilst the message is still current. Changing your key every so often is good security against anyone but the most determined

5◀ However, while questions about *Searchlight's* murky politics and possible hidden agendas go unanswered, except by further vitriolic and often absurd counter-accusations, critics can hardly be blamed for raising their fears. Even the *New Statesman* (15/10/93) criticised *"the hysterical tone of Searchlight's responses to O'Hara"*.

Tim Hepple himself, despite rounding off *At War with Society* by saying *"I am out in the open with nothing to hide"* and *"do not intend to go into hiding"*, has not appeared at any public meetings since to withdraw or explain his intriguing allegations against *Searchlight*, and his own puzzling behaviour. O'Hara has had no response to his request for an open public debate with Gable and Hepple. A peculiar offer in *Searchlight* of some (covertly-obtained) "O'Hara tapes" (and letters)—eagerly announced as *"the perfect stocking filler for Christmas [1993]"*—was also quietly forgotten without the items ever appearing. This sudden switch to silence by *Searchlight* is deeply unsatisfactory.

intelligence service.

Supercomputer time is very expensive and set aside for important diplomatic and military interceptions. It is thought that the recent controversial Israeli purchase of American supercomputers was because they were falling behind in their ability to decipher encrypted Arab diplomatic telecommunications. But when it comes to spying on the general population PGP could effectively destroy a state's ability to routinely intercept our digital communications, be it telephone, fax or e-mail. If the public started using military-grade encryption the NSA, GCHQ etc would be swamped. Phones with high grade encryption are already available in some countries, and Zimmerman is now working on a 'PGP-phone'. British GSM mobile phones were introduced with good encryption but it was taken off; they were seen as 'not needing it'.

The current battle for privacy using encryption started in 1978 when the NSA banned a telephone scrambler. Its inventor Carl Nicolai wrote: *"They've been bugging people's phones for years and now someone comes along with a device that makes this a little harder to do and they oppose this under the guise of national security."*

After this publicity the NSA backed down. They also failed to prevent a patent on advanced cryptographic mathematical techniques after the University of Wisconsin denounced them for interfering with academic freedom. This led Bobby Ray Inman, (now ex-) director of the NSA, to ask for 'born classified' control over all research in any way related to cryptography. This also failed. However the NSA did get cryptographic technology onto the US Munitions List—they classed it as a weapon, effectively preventing the export of encryption software. The legislation makes developing cryptographic devices fraught with legal difficulties resulting in a delay in their development in the US. Zimmerman bypassed these controls, however, by making his PGP available as freeware on the Internet. Anyone can access the Net and 'import' PGP and the NSA can do nothing about it. As a result PGP has become a standard for encryption world wide. Everyone from Amnesty International to anarchists use it.

In an attempt to stop public key encryption the NSA pushed for the introduction of a law that would ban any encryption they could not read. However their 1991 Anti-Crime Bill clause failed and that very year PGP appeared from Zimmerman's Colorado bungalow and quickly spread across the globe.

In 1994 the NSA fought to introduce the 'Clipper/Skipjack Chip', encryption hardware for phones and modems. However, although encrypted, these communications can be deciphered using a set of skeleton keys held by third parties who would release them after, say, the FBI, had secured the proper authority. Savaged in Congress, the Clipper is not mandatory but over 10,000 have already been purchased by the government and the NSA is aggressively marketing Clipper to private industry. David Bannisar of Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility suggested of the Clipper: *"It's like trying to order people to use only resealable envelopes for correspondence, so that no communication can ever be private again."* Opposition to the Clipper came from



Anti-Clipper Chip logo

an alliance of libertarian Internet users called Cypherpunks, and big businesses who feared that they would lose foreign markets if they sold phones that the US Government could tap at will. Clearly, sophisticated criminals would use more difficult to obtain, but quite legal, non-Clipper hardware whilst everyone else's phones could be tapped.

In September 1993 two companies that sell PGP, Viacrypt and Austin Code Works, were issued with subpoenas by US customs officers charging them with breaking the US International Traffic in Arms regulations. Zimmerman's attorney, Phil Dubois, told us (November, 1994) that no one has been indicted but the investigation is ongoing and Zimmerman himself could face 4 years in jail.

The American campaign has led to other countries attempting to nip the problem in the bud, France has banned PGP and there are rumours that this may happen in other European countries.

Whilst these techniques could make phone/computer tapping obsolete, it shifts the burden of spying and, ultimately, controlling us onto security services like MI5 who concentrate on using human agents to gather information. William Safire in his regular *New York Times* column draws attention to the probability of a frightening increase in security services' use of agents and the 'proactive' style this encourages.

"The new Ultra secret is that the paradigm has shifted: encryption has overcome decryption. Billions now spent on passive technical surveillance must be shifted to active means of learning criminal or aggressive plans. Human informers must be recruited or placed, as 'sigint' declines and 'humint' rises in the new era; psychic as well as monetary rewards for ratting must be raised; governments must collude closely to trace transfers of wealth. Cash in your clipper chips, wiretappers: you can't detect the crime wave of the future with those old earphones."

SPECIAL OFFER

Two factors make it prudent to use encryption software. Firstly, the massive overcapacity of intelligence gathering that exists following the collapse of the Soviet Union has meant a shift towards spying on low level 'threats': grass roots organisations and radicals. Secondly, new digital technology has made electronic spying much easier. The spies can be countered by more widespread use of encryption technology. For £1.50 (including p&p) we will send you some interesting articles and a free copy of PGP on a Sony 3.5" 1.44mb HD disk, please specify PC/MAC. This can be used for both e-mail and disks going by land mail—making our post 'unoperable'. Netties can find PGP 2.6.1 at <http://demon.co.uk/pub/pgsql> & <http://net.net/pub/crypto>. They should also locate copies of 'spool mode' software which is designed to combat keyword recognition systems (KWRS). These work by scanning communications, be it e-mail or telephone conversations, for words that a computer has been trained to recognise. Likely words might be anything from "gun" to "bloody Tories". When the Iraqis broke into the digital exchange that BT had recently installed in Kuwait City they found a KWRS programmed to recognise 2,000 words and record conversations that used them. 'Spool mode' software randomly scatters these types of words in e-mail thus confusing KWRS. A similar thing might be done verbally by you or I in our phone conversations! Just at the moment when the electronic intelligence gathering network is turning to spying on civil society we have available simple techniques and free software that could make this multi-billion dollar network almost useless.

The world's biggest NSA spy base is at Menwith Hill, North Yorks. Women have been protesting there since the early 80's, and now have a permanent peace camp. Tel 01585 329313.

Icke and the Nazis

Open Eye uncovers an astonishing anti-semitic and nazi propaganda network

David Icke's colourful odyssey through the New Age recently took a sinister turn. His latest book, *The Robots' Rebellion*, lends enthusiastic support to *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, a notorious early 20th century tract still used by anti-semites to 'prove' there is a secret Jewish conspiracy seeking world domination. Successful Jewish people have long had to suffer the anti-semitism of the British Establishment; 'anti-elitist' Icke is now giving credence to the theories of the very Establishment he supposedly urges us to rebel against.

Icke's faith in the authenticity of the *Protocols'* wicked plan for an elite-controlled New World Order puts him, whatever his objections, firmly in the same camp as other believers, including Hitler and many British nazis. Copies travelled in the knapsacks of the Waffen-SS. When pressed by *Open Eye* to justify these unsavoury beliefs, Icke repeated his now often-made assertion that he is not anti-semitic ("This is not, repeat NOT, an all Jewish plot") but reiterated his support for the *Protocols*: "Just because Hitler used knowledge for negative reasons doesn't reflect on the knowledge itself" he explained, and after all "Hitler and the nazis were brought to power by the very Brotherhood plan which the *Protocols* so powerfully predicted and which *The Robots' Rebellion* so powerfully exposes". Anyway, Icke enthused "almost everything they [the *Protocols*] said would happen has happened or is happening in this century... The *Protocols* have become manifest. Look around you."

Icke brushed aside our question of whether he had read *Warrant for Genocide*—Norman Cohn's exposé of the *Protocols* as forgeries, and their role in justifying the holocaust—"it's easy to claim anything" he retorted: "I have seen no evidence to persuade me [that they are forgeries]". He ignored our suggestion to contact *Lobster* editor Robin Ramsay—a conspiracy expert—who we naively hoped might be allowed a chance to criticise Icke's far right/anti-semitic sources. He added that he had only come across the *Protocols* when his book was "virtually completed" but he will not divulge how he found—or was given?—a copy and will not tell enquirers where it is available. His publishers say "he's getting a lot of information fed to him which he's anxious to pass on".

Rainbow Ark

Where might he have found the *Protocols*? An obvious candidate is the New Age/green magazine *Rainbow Ark*, which has run many dubious articles, one included a list of allegedly power-hungry "apostate Jewish bankers" and described how "corruption and harmfulness" has been 'incarnated' in some Jews. This "false Zionism" has taught a "selfish doctrine" which cares little for the "gross harm that may be wreaked upon others by warfare, harming policies and economic practices which are enormously damaging to very many". The so-called 'Jewish conspiracy' is a topic of, usually furtive, conversation at *Rainbow Ark* meetings, and one nazi attendee often stands up to denounce 'the Jews', if given a chance. The editor gave *Open Eye*

a comically simplistic document of "Additional Protocols" with laughable 'details' of the plans "Secret Zionism" has for "the goyim". Icke's not yet ready for this, he said. *Rainbow Ark* even organised a public meeting with Donald Martin—a far right anti-semitic propagandist who owns Bloomfield Books—which was picketed by anti-nazi protesters. Martin has written in the BNP's magazine *Spearhead* as well as pseudonymously for *Rainbow Ark*. He is close to Lady Jane Birdwood who has been arrested on a number of occasions for distributing race hate literature. The magazine also espouses the economic ideas of rightwing theoretician C H Douglas whose works are pushed by Martin.

Until recently the *Rainbow Ark* editors lived in the Victoria flat of Mary Stanton. Stanton is a well-known fascist propagandist and friend of both Martin and Lady Birdwood. She is repeatedly thanked in the pages of *Rainbow Ark* for her support, including at least one donation of "£250 and over". The first *Rainbow Ark* even includes an advert seeking volunteers for Stanton's 'Free Society to save the Planet'. Her flat has been used by numerous rightwing groups, attracting Special Branch's attention. It was once used as the National Front's press office.

Though *Rainbow Ark* also helped organise a lecture by Icke at the Glastonbury Festival, and the magazine contains a fair amount of his material, Icke played down these links, assuring us they had given him "NO information whatsoever" for *The Robots' Rebellion*.

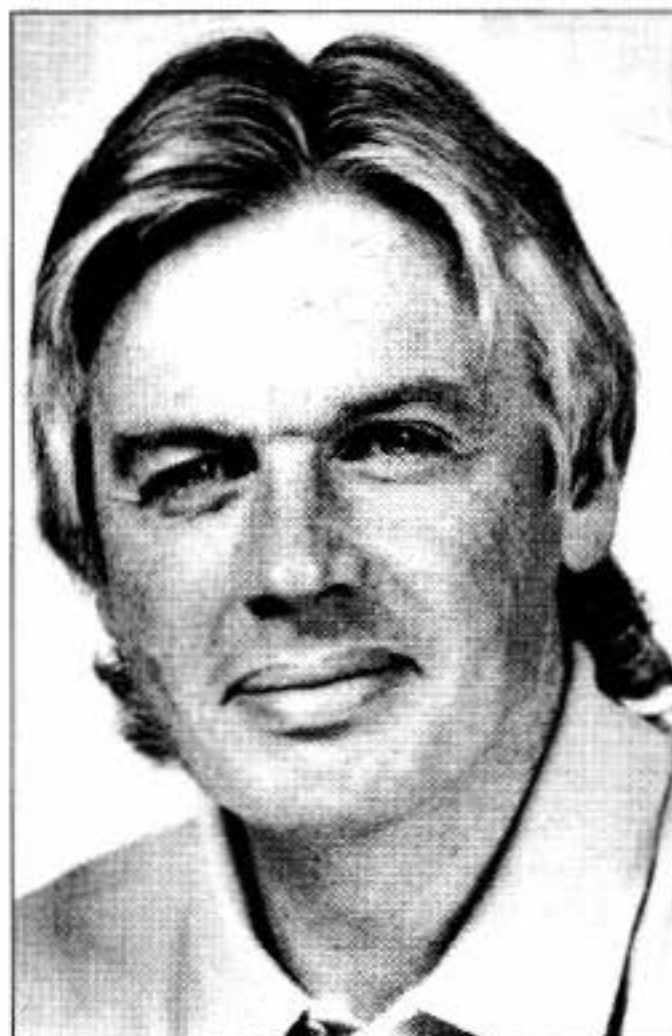
Nexus

Another possible source is the Australian-based conspiracy magazine *Nexus*. It recently entered the British market, hoping to add to its 45,000+ circulation. Icke lends *Nexus* his enthusiastic endorsement; they reciprocate.

Nexus' new British agent, who like *Rainbow Ark's* editor was at Icke's book launch, unselfconsciously provided further shocking details of a growing anti-semitic propaganda network. Sitting in their UK office he eagerly displayed his copy of the *Protocols*—a personal favourite—and outlined his own revisionist view of the Holocaust, speaking admiringly of David Irving. There were no gas chambers at Auschwitz, he said. He had already sold one batch of a book which reprints the *Protocols* and was bringing more copies over from America. A friend in Brighton—who runs Millennium Books—was also selling a self-published reprint of Lord Sydenham's 1920 copy of the *Protocols*.

Nexus' UK representative then handed us his favourite books, all had rightwing publishers such as the John Birch Society. On opening the covers we discovered their source: the far right Bloomfield Books. He praised its owner, Donald Martin.

He began to describe the "global conspiracy" and we were horrified to hear that he is helping David Icke with a chapter in his next book which calls into question the facts of the Holocaust. This is exactly what nazis worldwide are seeking to do in order to remove the major historical obstacle to their worldwide rehabilitation as a political move-



Icke: New Ager or Neo-Nazi?

ment, with unimaginable consequences. Asked about Icke's sources his publisher replied: "I suppose he'd be a bit cagey about who he'd release that to, from the content that he's been letting us see." Publication is delayed as they find his manuscript unacceptable.

The firm link between Icke's thinking and that of US rightwingers and anti-semites (Lyndon LaRouche, *Spotlight*, William Cooper et al) makes his role as a messiah for the New Age movement a major worry. Icke is very influential: *The Robots' Rebellion* sold out in just six weeks. Leading New Ager Sir George Trevelyan commented: "Here is the man I have been waiting for, for ages". Icke told us that "over the last few weeks" his "basic themes... have been broadcast to millions of people". He is now setting up 'The David Icke Network' to help guide his flock, a flock very possibly nurtured on the sinister New Age/Theosophist myth of Atlantis which depicts that legendary place as a kind of all-purpose pure and spiritual proto-Aryan paradise, tragically lost forever as a result of 'racial miscegenation'. Icke's lectures are promoted by a secretive and ambitious New Age group called the Earth Foundation.

Other dubious groups are also active on the green fringes. The Movement for Middle England—who suggest the goal of "Normans out by 2066"—for instance, and the rightwing group *Perspectives/Transeuropa* in particular involve numerous euro-nationalists of racist pedigree. *Alternative Green* is the only magazine to have responded favourably to these overtures from the Right. The 14th Regionalist Seminar in March 1994 likewise attracted the involvement of at least one prominent ex-nazi, *Transeuropa's* Richard Lawson, along with a Wessex Regionalist, a bioregionalist and others. With these events in mind it is worth repeating Larry O'Hara's timely warning quoted in David Black's recent *Greenline* article about Icke: fascists may be attempting to "resituate, re-define and repackage Far Right politics in a form more likely to succeed than conventional nazism... and are thus a greater threat in the long term. These people are thinking strategically."



The Free Market Myth

With the Cold War forgotten, 'flexible, free markets' and 'human rights' are the eagerly sought policy objectives for politicians both left and right. Noam Chomsky asks what exactly these goals mean in the real world, and who in fact benefits

There's a conventional doctrine about the era we're entering and the promise that it's supposed to afford. In brief, the story is that the good guys won the Cold War shoot-out and they're firmly in the saddle. There may be some rough terrain ahead, but nothing that they can't handle. They ride off into the sunset, leading the way to a bright future, based on the ideals that they've always cherished: democracy and free markets and human rights.

I don't want to suggest that the truth never comes into it, it does, but in intriguing ways. A couple of interesting studies by a Reaganite insider, Thomas Carruthers—who worked at the State Department on what they called 'democracy enhancement programmes'—describe the effort to bring democracy to Latin America as sincere but a failure. In fact a highly systematic failure—he says where US influence was least, like in the Southern Cone, that's where you found the most progress towards democracy. He points out that the Reaganites strenuously opposed that progress, but then took credit for it after it took place. On the other hand, closer to home where the US had more influence, there were "limited cut-down forms of democracy that did not risk upsetting the traditional structures of power, with which the US has long been allied. It maintained the basic order of quite undemocratic societies avoiding populist-based change that might upset the established economic and political order, and open a leftist direction."

You can call this systematic behaviour—totally independent of the Cold War—a failure, but only under the kinds of assumptions that would lead you, for example, to describe Russia's efforts to achieve freedom in Eastern Europe a failure. Furthermore the very same conception of democracy holds at home too, although we're not supposed to see those truisms.

In the real world, however, human rights, democracy and free markets are all under serious attack in many countries, including the leading industrial societies. Power is increasingly concentrated in unaccountable institutions, and the rich and the powerful

are no more willing to submit themselves to market discipline or popular pressures than they ever have been in the past. Let's begin with human rights, because it's the easiest place to start: they're actually codified in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, passed unanimously by the United Nations General Assembly in December 1948. In the United States, there's a good deal of very impressive rhetoric about how we stand for the principle of the universality of the Universal Declaration, and how we defend the principle against backward, Third World peoples who plead cultural relativism. All this reached a crescendo about a year

ago, at the Vienna Conference. But the rhetoric is rarely besmirched by any reference to what the Universal Declaration actually says. Article 25, for example, states:

"Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood." How are these principles upheld in the richest country in the world, with absolutely unparalleled advantages and no excuses for not completely satisfying them? The US has the worst record on poverty in the industrialised world—a poverty level which is twice as high as England, which has the second worst record in the industrial world. Tens of millions of people are hungry every night, including millions of children who are suffering from Third World levels of disease and malnutrition. In New York City, the richest city in the world, 40 percent of children live below the poverty line, meaning essentially below subsistence level; deprived of minimal conditions that offer some hope for escape from misery and destitution and violence. In fact, given its enormous advantages and wealth, the only logical conclusion that can be drawn from its practice is that the United States is in the leading ranks of the opposition to the universality of the Universal Declaration.

Let's turn to Article 23. It states: "Every-

one has the right to work, to just and favourable conditions of work, and to protection against unemployment, with remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, supplemented if necessary by other means of social protection." Furthermore, "everyone has the right to form and join trade unions, for protection of his interests". In the US—technically—everyone has the right to join a trade union. But the reality is quite different. There's a complex structure of laws and administrative arrangements that have been put in place since the late 1940s in an effort to beat back the horrifying developments of the late 1930s, when American workers finally got the rights that had been won in most of Europe half a century earlier. Unions have declined radically. In 1992, the International Labour Organisation, which rarely has an unkind word for its paymasters, called on the US to conform to international labour standards on "permanent replacement workers" which are violated only by the United States and South Africa in the industrial world. "Permanent replacement workers", otherwise known as scabs, are those brought in to replace sacked unionised workers to break strikes; international labour law condemns the practice, but it is condoned and is standard practice in the United States. The Caterpillar Corporation was recently able to break a strike of the most powerful remaining union, the United Auto Workers, simply by threatening to hire strike-breakers. There's an article in *Business Week* this week, which describes some of the consequences of the American state's vicious anti-labour activities. Illegal firings for union organising are up sixfold, it reckons, in the past 25 years. In particular, thousands of organisers have been illegally fired since the Reaganite takeover and they have no recourse. According to the US Labor Department, the destruction of the unions has been the main factor in the decline of real wages which has continued since the Reagan era. Health and safety standards in the work place have sharply deteriorated. There are laws, but they're simply not enforced, so the number of industrial accidents has risen sharply in the past ten years. Then there is the effect of the decline of unions on democracy—the unions are one of the few means

"The story is that the good guys won the Cold War shoot-out and they're firmly in the saddle"

by which ordinary people can enter the political arena. Finally, there is also a kind of psychological effect. The destruction of the unions is part of a much more general effort to privatise aspirations, to eliminate solidarity and sympathy, the sense that we're all in it together, that we care for one another. The culture of working class solidarity has been undermined by decades of intensive propaganda dedicated to eliminating human feelings in favour of greed and the pursuit of manufactured wants.

I can't leave the matter of human rights without mentioning the issue of sanctions. Take Indonesia, a country with a horrendous human rights record at home and in its near-genocidal aggression. Well, there are no sanctions. That's a little misleading. On the contrary, there's eager participation in criminal atrocities. It's notably Britain that has replaced the US as the leading participant. Public pressure in the US forced it to fall behind and England happily moved to the front, to see how much money it could make by participating in slaughtering people and so on, in old-fashioned English style. So, no sanctions, rather participation. But sometimes Indonesia actually does something that calls for punishment. In 1993 for example, the 110 countries of the Non-Aligned Movement proposed the UN Resolution which requested the World Court for an opinion on whether the use of nuclear weapons is permitted under International Law. As the head of the Non-Aligned Movement for that year, Indonesia was to submit the resolution. In the face of this atrocity the guardians of international morality leaped into action. The US, Britain and France threatened Indonesia with trade sanctions and termination of aid unless it withdrew the resolution, as it indeed did—meanwhile continuing normal terror and oppression with the enthusiastic support of the same powers, all accompanied by the usual silence of respectable opinion. This tells you pretty much what human rights are: an instrument to beat people over the head with. One of the tasks of respectable intellectuals is to keep these truisms hidden, so that people

"The destruction of the unions is part of an effort to privatise aspirations, to eliminate solidarity and sympathy, the sense that we're all in it together, that we care for one another"

won't see them. It's pretty hard because they're glaringly obvious.

Let's go back to Article 23 again: "everyone has a right to work under just and favourable conditions". The ILO has just published a report estimating the level of global unemployment—understood to mean the position of not having enough work for subsistence—in January 1994 at about 30 percent. That, it says accurately, is a crisis worse than that in the 1930s. It is, moreover, just one part of a general worldwide human rights catastrophe. UNESCO estimates that about 500,000 children die every year from debt repayment alone. Debt repayment means that commercial banks made bad loans to their favourite dictators, and those loans are now being paid by the poor, who



have absolutely nothing to do with it, and of course by the taxpayers in the wealthy countries, because the debts are socialised. That's under the system of socialism for the rich that we call free enterprise: nobody expects the banks to have to pay for the bad loans, that's your job and my job. Meanwhile, the World Health Organisation estimates that 11 million children die every year from easily treatable diseases. WHO's head calls it a silent genocide: it could be stopped for pennies a day. And UNESCO estimates that the human costs of what is called "economic reform" in Russia has been some 500,000 excess deaths a year since 1989. There are comparable figures for elsewhere in Eastern Europe. In the US, of course, there is currently a recovery. But it's remarkably sluggish, with less than a third of the job growth of the previous six recoveries. Furthermore, of the jobs that are being created, an enormous proportion—more than a quarter in 1992—are temporary jobs and most are not in the productive part of the economy. Economists welcome this vast increase in temporary jobs as an "improvement in the flexibility of labour markets". No matter that it means that when you go to sleep at night you don't know if you're going to have

work the next morning—it's good for profits not people, which means that it's good for the economy in the technical sense. Another aspect of the recovery is that people are working longer for less money. The workload is continuing to increase, while wages are continuing to decline—which is unprecedented for a recovery. US wages—as measured by labour costs per unit output—are now the lowest in the industrial world, except for Britain. In 1991 the US even went below England, although England caught up and regained first place in the competition to crush poor and working people. Having been the highest in the world in 1985 (as one might expect in the world's richest country), US labour costs are today 60 percent lower than Germany's and 20

percent lower than Italy's. The *Wall Street Journal* called this turnaround "a welcome development of transcendent importance". It is usually claimed that these welcomed developments just result from market forces, like laws of nature, and the usual factors are identified such as international trade and automation. To put it kindly, that's a bit misleading: neither trade nor automation have much to do with market forces. Take,

"The culture of working class solidarity has been undermined by decades of intensive propaganda dedicated to eliminating human feelings in favour of greed and pursuit of manufactured wants"

say, trade. One well-known fact about trade is that it's highly subsidised with huge market-distorting factors, which I don't think anybody's ever tried to measure. The most obvious is that every form of transport is highly subsidised, whether it's maritime, aeronautical, or roads or rail. Since trade naturally requires transport, the costs of transport enter into the calculation of the efficiency of trade. But there are huge subsidies to reduce the costs of transport, through manipulation of energy costs and all sorts of market-distorting fashions. If anybody wanted to measure this it would be quite a job. Take the US Pentagon—a huge affair—a very substantial part of the Pentagon is intervention forces directed at the Middle East, across the whole panoply of intimidation devices to make sure nobody gets in the way if the US tries to intervene. And a large part of the purpose of that is to keep oil prices within a certain range. Not too low, because the US and British oil companies have to make plenty of profit, and these countries also have to earn profits which they can then send back to their masters in London and New York. So, not too low. But also not too high, because you want to keep trade efficient. I'm not even mentioning so-called externalities, like pollution and so on. If the real costs of trade were calculated, the apparent efficiency of trade would certainly drop substantially. Nobody knows how much.

Furthermore, what's called trade isn't trade in any serious sense of the term. Much



of what's called trade is just internal transactions, inside a big corporation. More than half of US exports to Mexico don't even enter the Mexican market.

They're just transferred by one branch of General Motors to another branch, because you can get much cheaper labour if you happen to cross a border, and you don't have to worry about pollution and that sort of thing. But that's not trade in any sensible sense of the term, any more than if you move a can of beans from one shelf to another of a grocery store. It just happens to cross an international border, but it's not trade. In fact, by now it's estimated that about 40% of what's called world trade is internal to corporations. That means centrally-managed transactions run by a very visible hand with major market distortions of all kinds, sometimes called a system of corporate mercantilism, which is fairly accurate. GATT and NAFTA just increase these tendencies, hence harming markets in incalculable ways. And if we proceed, we find that the alleged efficiencies of trade are to a large extent an ideological construction. They don't have any substantive meaning. With automation, for instance, there's no doubt that it puts people out of work. But the fact of the matter is that automation is so inefficient that it had to be developed in the state sector for decades—meaning the US military system. And the kind of automation that was developed in the state sector—at huge public cost and enormous market distortion—was a very special kind. It was designed in order to de-skill workers and to enhance managerial power. This has nothing to do with economic efficiency, it's to do with power relations, which goes way back in the industrial revolution.

There were and are alternatives as there always have been. There have been a number of academic and management-affirmed studies which have shown over and over that automation is introduced by managers, even when it increases costs—when it's inefficient—just for power reasons.

"The economy is working just fine for some people, and they happen to be the ones who write the articles, and give the speeches"

US Navy—that is, by the state sector in the economy—masking market distortions again. In general, invocation of market forces, as if they were laws of nature, has a large element of fraud associated with it. It's a kind of ideological warfare, for rather transparent class interests—going all the way back to the origins of the industrial revolution. In the post Second World War period, this includes just about everything: electronics, computers, biotechnology and pharmaceuticals for instance. It was all initiated and maintained by enormous state subsidies and intervention—otherwise it would not exist. Computers, for example—in the 1950s, before they were marketable—were virtually 100% supported by the taxpayer. About 85% of all electronics was state-supported in the 1980s. The idea is that the public is supposed to pay the cost. If anything comes out of it, you hand it over to the corporations. It's called free enterprise.

All of this quite sharply increased under the Reagan administration. The state share of GNP rose to new heights in the first couple of years of the Reagan administration. And they were proud of it. To the public they had all kinds of free market talk, but when they were talking to the business community, they talked differently. So James Baker, when he was Secretary of the Treasury, announced with great pride to a business convention, that the Reagan administration had offered more protection to US manufacturers than any of the preceding post-war administrations, which was true, but he was being too modest; it actually offered more protection than all of them combined. One of the reasons why Clinton had unusual corporate support for a Democrat is that he planned to go even beyond that level of market distortion and market interference, for the benefit of domestic-based capital. His Secretary of Treasury, Lloyd Bentsen, was

Take one case—containerisation—which is one factor that certainly increases trade efficiency. It was developed by the

quoted recently in the *Wall Street Journal* as saying, "I'm tired of this level playing field business. We want to tilt the playing field in favour of US industry". Meanwhile, there's a lot of very passionate rhetoric about free markets but, of course, that's free markets for the poor, at home and abroad.

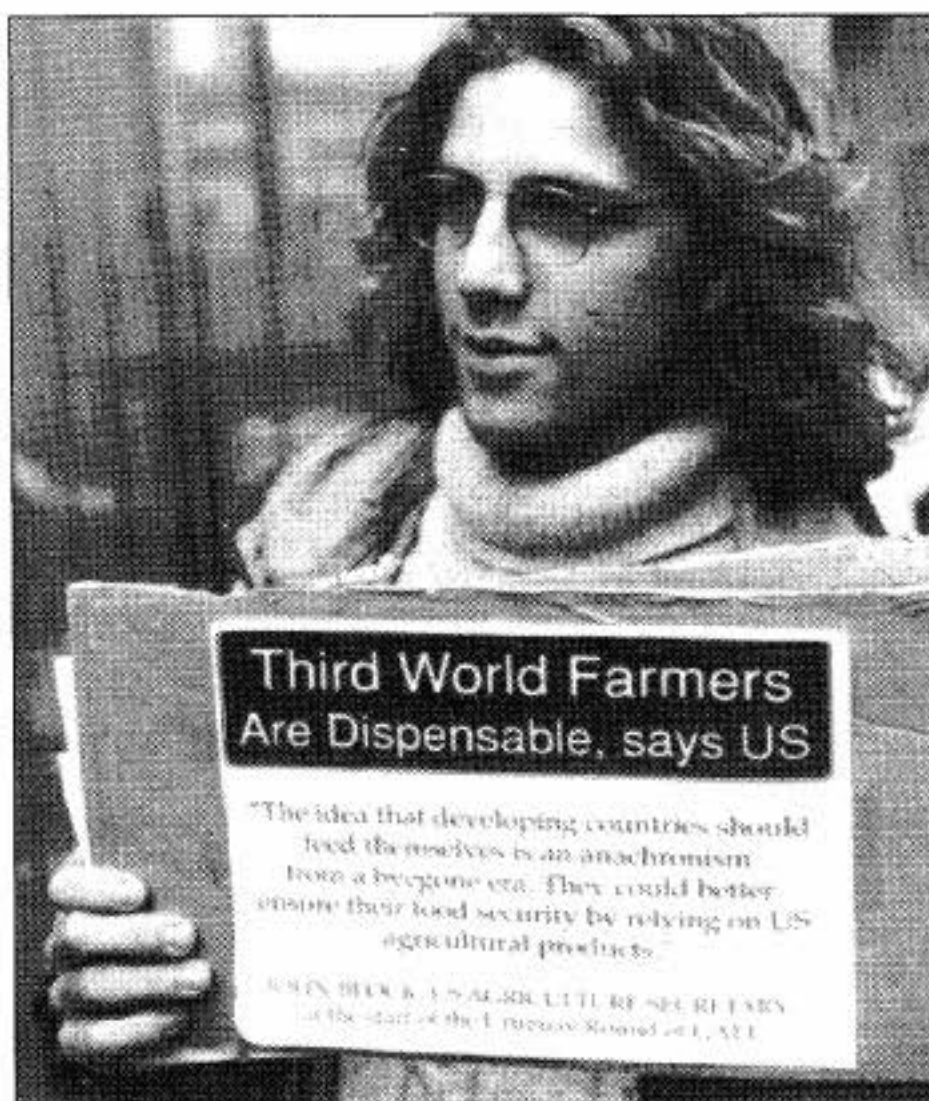
Returning to the international economy, the fact is that people's lives are being destroyed on an enormous scale through unemployment alone. Meanwhile, everywhere you turn you find work that these people would be delighted to do if they had a chance. Work that would be highly beneficial both for them and their communities. But here you have to be a little careful. It would be beneficial to people, but it would be harmful to the economy, in the technical sense. And that's a very important distinction to learn. All of this is a brief way of saying that the economic system is a catastrophic failure. There's a huge amount of needed work. There's an enormous number of idle hands of suffering people, but the economic system is simply incapable of bringing them together. Now of course this catastrophic failure is hailed as a grand success. And indeed it is, for a narrow sector of privileged, profits are sky rocketing. Not as fast as misery and despair. The economy is working just fine for some people, and they happen to be the ones who write the articles, and give the speeches, so it all sounds great in the intellectual culture, in the media, and so on. There's an analogous situation in the Third World, smaller but structurally similar.

Looking at these major tendencies, especially in the past 20 years, one crucial event—maybe one of the most important developments in the last years—was Richard Nixon's demolition of the Bretton Woods system in the early 1970s. That was the post-war system for regulating international currencies, with the US serving, in effect, as a kind of international banker. He dismantled that. One of the advantages of being the Mafia don is that if you don't like the rules by which the world works, you change the rules, and nobody has anything to say about it. So Bretton Woods was dismantled, with a lot of consequences. One effect of the deregulation of currencies was a huge increase of capital and financial markets. The World Bank, a couple of months ago, estimated it at about 14 trillion dollars, which totally swamps government. And the amount of capital that's being transferred daily is increasing. It's probably now about a trillion dollars a day—again swamping government. In addition to a huge increase in the amount of unregulated capital, there's also a very radical change in its composition. John Eatwell, an economist at Cambridge, and a specialist on finance, pointed out recently that in 1970—before Nixon dismantled the system—about 90% of the capital used in financial transactions, internationally, was for long-term investment trade and about 10% for speculation. Now there's a vastly greater amount, and figures have reversed. It's 90% for speculation, and about 10% for investment and trade. Eatwell suggested that that may be a big factor in the considerable decline in growth rates since this happened in 1970.

That's supported by a study that just came out from a private group headed by Paul Faulkner—former head of the Federal Reserve Board—published in the *Wall Street Journal*, which estimated that about half the decline in growth rates is just due to the speculative capital. This speculative capital, which is huge in quantity, has a deflationary impact. Bond holders want money to be stable, they don't want growth. You just saw that in the United States: very sluggish growth which terminated because there was a fear that maybe, ultimately, it would lead to slight inflation, although there was no sign of it, so therefore it ended growth.

This is the richest country in the world and it can't carry out even minimal economic planning because of the impact of speculative, unregulated capital. For, say, a Third World country the situation is hopeless. There's no such thing as economic planning and indeed the new GATT agreements are designed to undercut those possibilities even more, by extending the so-called liberalisation, and what they call services, meaning that big western banks—the Japanese, British and American Banks—can displace the banks in smaller countries, eliminating any possibility of domestic national planning. The one consequence of this dismantling of the Bretton Woods system has been a pressure to move the world to a kind of Third World character. A typical Third World country is sharply two-tiered; a very small sector of extreme wealth and privilege, and a huge mass of utterly miserable people. That pattern is now being internationalised. It's extending over the whole world, with the United States and Britain in the lead.

The accelerating shift from a national to a global economy has the effect of increasing polarisation across countries, between rich and poor countries. But also, even more sharply, within the countries. It also has the effect of undermining functioning democracy, the mechanisms are pretty obvious. We're moving to a situation in which capital is highly mobile, and labour is immobile, and becoming more immobile. That has immediate consequences. One is that it means that it's possible—very easily—to shift production to low wage, high repression areas, with low environmental standards. It also makes it very easy to play off one immobile, national labour force against another. During the NAFTA debate in the United States, for example, the media had it very carefully focused on the safe and meaningless question of jobflow. That's safe, because nobody has the foggiest idea of what the effect on jobflow will be. The economic models tell you nothing. On the other hand, there was another point that just about everybody agreed on, across the board: that the effect of NAFTA would be to lower wages in the United States for what are called unskilled workers, which is a technical term that means about 70 or 75% of the workforce. It's suspected to have the same effect in Canada, and very likely the same effect in Mexico for other reasons. In fact, to lower wages you don't have to move manufactur-



ing, you just have to be able to threaten to do it. The threat alone is enough to lower

"Parliamentary institutions are considered dangerous because they might fall—at least partially—under the influence of the rabble"

wages and increase temporary employment, and all these other "welcome developments of transcendent importance". The same thing is going on in Europe as we'll see.

In these ways alone, the capital mobility, and labour immobility increase polarisation—globally—in obvious ways. It's worth noting that these properties—immobile labour and mobile capital—are exactly the opposite of classical economics, of the assumption on which all the pretty theorems about comparative advantage and so on, are based. In the days of Ricardo, that was not an unreasonable assumption—labour was very mobile, because it exterminated the native populations. You could just send labour abroad. So labour was indeed highly mobile, and capital was immobile. You could prove the theorems. The whole framework is still accepted, although it now has no relation to reality. These things really have to be rethought.

Consider the matter of democratisation. Power is shifting into the hands of huge transnational corporations. That means away from parliamentary institutions. Furthermore, there's a structure of governance that's coalescing around these transnational corporations. This is not unlike the developments of the last couple of hundred years, when national states more or less coalesced around growing national economies. Now you've got a transnational economy, you're getting a transnational state, not surprisingly. The *Financial Times*, a couple of years ago, described this as a de facto world government, including the World Bank and the IMF, and GATT, now the World Trade Organisation, the G7 Executive, and so on.

That has the very useful property that it removes power from parliamentary institutions, which are considered dangerous, naturally, because they might fall—at least partially—under the influence of the rabble. It's important to keep the technocrats insulated—that's World Bank lingo; you want to make sure you have technocratic insulation. The *Economist* magazine describes how it's important to keep policy insulated from politics. If the policy is insulated from politics, you can have democratic forms, certain that they're not going to harm anything. Meanwhile, the insulated technocrats can work for the health of the economy, in the technical sense of that term, meaning low growth, low wage, high profit and internationalisation of the Third World model.

Power is drifting not only to corporations but into the structures around them—all of them completely totalitarian, absolutely—completely unaccountable. The corporation itself has got a stricter

hierarchy than exists in any human institution. That's a sure form of totalitarianism and unaccountability—the economic equivalent of fascism—which is exactly why corporations are so strongly opposed by classical liberals. Thomas Jefferson, for example, who lived just about long enough to see the early development of the corporate system, warned in his last years that what he called banking institutions, money and corporations would simply destroy liberty and would restore absolutism, eliminating the victories of the American Revolution. Adam Smith was also concerned about their potential power, particularly if they were going to be granted the rights of, in effect, 'immortal persons'—human rights. That is what actually happened in the United States in the 19th century. It happened completely outside parliamentary institutions; it was not congressional decisions but the judicial decisions of judges and lawyers which created this new absolutism that vastly exceeded Jefferson's worst nightmares.

The end of the Cold War accelerates all this, it offers new weapons against the working people at home. The *Financial Times* for example had an article a year or two ago called "Green shoots in communism's ruins"; one of the good things it saw going on was that the pauperisation of the workforce and a high level of unemployment—thanks to the capitalist reforms—were offering new ways to undercut what they called "pampered Western European workers" with what is called in business their "luxurious lifestyles".

A British industrialist explained in the *Wall Street Journal* recently that when workers see jobs disappearing it has a salutary effect on people's attitudes. This was part of an article praising the Thatcher reforms for bringing about a low-wage, low skill economy in England with great labour flexibility, and wonderful profits. Take General Motors, already the biggest employer in Mexico, it is now moving into Eastern Europe but in a very special way. When General Motors set



Guatemala

up a plant in Poland they insisted upon high tariff protection; similarly when VW set up a plant in the Czech Republic it insists on tariff protection and also externalisation of costs. They want the Czech people and the Czech Republic to pay the costs; they just want the profit and they get it. That's the tradition: markets for the poor and plenty of state protection for the rich. The end of the Cold War simply returns Eastern Europe to its traditional Third World status, which is what most of Eastern Europe was, and in these days of a more international economy that means new weapons against working people in Western Europe.

The biggest test is Poland. Here is another opportunity to threaten the pampered western European workers. A country where multinational corporations can get people who are well-trained and well-educated and they'll have blue eyes and blond hair unlike in the Third World, and they'll work for ten percent of your wages, with no benefits, because of the effectiveness of capitalist reforms in pauperising the populations and in increasing unemployment. That in fact tells us something about what the Cold War was about—there's been a lot of debate about this, much of it irrelevant. We learn a lot about what it was about just by asking a simple question: who's cheering and who's gloomy and despairing? If we take, say, the East. Who's cheering? The old communist party hierarchy is, they think it's wonderful. They are sometimes called the 'nomenklatura capitalists'—rich beyond their wildest dreams but now working for international capitalism, Third World-style. What about the population? Well, they lost the Cold War, they're in misery and despair, despite their victory over the Soviet experiment.

What about the West? There's a lot of cheering from corporations and banks and management firms about the experts who were sent to Eastern Europe to clinch a friendly takeover, as the *Wall Street Journal* put it, but ran away with all the aid it turns out. Very little of the aid got there, instead it went into the pockets of the western experts and management firms, economists and so

on. They're cheering but not the workers in GM and VW. They lost the Cold War because now the end of the Cold War just gives another weapon to undermine their luxurious lifestyles.

"Military expenditures are a huge welfare system for the rich"

It's a good question to ask after many wars. If you ask who won the Second World War and use these criteria you also get some funny and illuminating answers. This method reveals that the winners were the nazis, the German industrialists who were supporting Hitler, and the Italian fascists—they were all cheering. The losers were the anti-fascist resistance, who were crushed all over the world—either massacred like in Greece or South Korea, or just crushed like in Italy and France.

These misnamed free trade agreements, GATT and NAFTA, carry that process forwards. They are not free trade agreements but investor rights agreements and they are designed to carry forward the attack on democracy and genuine human rights, even markets in complex ways as I've discussed. If you look at them closely you realise they are a complicated mixture of liberalisation and protectionism carefully crafted in the interests of the transnational corporations. So for example GATT excludes subsidies except for one kind: military expenditures.

Military expenditures are a huge welfare system for the rich and an enormous form of government subsidy that distort markets and trade; this is particularly true in the United States. Military expenditures are staying very high: under Clinton they're higher in real terms than they were under Nixon and they are expected to go up—a fact which undercuts more Cold War mythology. That is a system of market interference and benefits for the wealthy that is taking place now. Another central part of the GATT agreement, and NAFTA, is what are called intellectual property rights—which is protectionism: protection for ownership of knowledge and technology. They want to make sure that the technology of

the future is monopolised by huge and generally government-subsidised so-called private corporations. GATT includes an important extension of patents to include product patents; this means that if someone designs a new technique for producing a drug they can't do it because they violate the patent. The purpose of product patents is to reduce economic efficiency and cut back technical innovation. France, for example, had product patents about a century ago and that was a reason why it lost a large part of its chemical industry in Switzerland which didn't, and therefore could innovate.

It means that a country like India where there is a big pharmaceutical industry which has been able to keep drug costs very low simply by designing smarter processes for producing things cannot do that any longer. Drug prices will shoot up in India along with death rates and so on. There's growing protest about this in India, huge demonstrations—in fact they are probably not going to ratify the GATT.

In Canada the same thing is happening. One effect of the free trade agreements was to give the US pharmaceutical corporations all kinds of clout to push Canada to stop production of generic drugs at a fraction of the cost, therefore keeping health costs low. This is particularly important in the US because the relative efficiency of a national health insurance programme—compared with the highly bureaucratised and inefficient private insurance-based one the US has—has been an embarrassment. Canada is right across the border so they can see how different it is; so it's best to destroy that system if possible and one of the ways to destroy it is to raise drug prices by protectionist devices like those built in to the free trade agreement NAFTA and now GATT.

These devices also give very obvious ways to override democratic institutions—this is not abstract, it's happening. We can look at Canada and the United States where we have a couple of years of experience. The province of Ontario, which is Canada's biggest, richest province, decided to institute a provincial auto insurance program that would provide insurance for a fraction of the current rate.

The US insurance companies naturally didn't like this and they threatened to sue, bring litigation, on the grounds that this was

"Free enterprise is socialism for the rich: the public pays the costs and the rich get the profits"

obfuscatory: an illegal interference with free trade. The province backed down as litigation would have been extremely expensive. Furthermore even if they had proceeded it would end up in some private secret chamber somewhere where corporate lawyers would decide on the merits of the case and the chances of winning that aren't high. That's the way in which you can undercut the democratic decision of the population of Ontario to considerably reduce auto insurance rates. They can't do that because that would be obfuscatory—it would conflict with the sole human value which is increasing profits for the top corporations.

If we take NAFTA, the day after the vote—when it was all safe—the *New York Times*

ran its first analysis of the expected impact of NAFTA on the New York region and they were very upbeat about how terrific it all was. They listed who it would be good for; it would be great for banks, for investment firms, the whole network of corporate lawyers, for public relations people—the network of skilled professionals who rely on corporate interests. It will also be good for some capital-intensive industry like chemicals, the protectionist element would be good for pharmaceuticals and publishing. It goes on and on like that and then there's one line which says that everything isn't perfect, there are some losers too and the losers, it turns out, are women, blacks, Hispanics and semi-skilled workers—3/4 of the workforce. That's in a city where 40% of children are already below the poverty line.

In the US it was quite interesting that they expected to drive it through in secret without anyone knowing about it, but there was a lot of grassroots mobilisation and they couldn't do it. The media support was approximately 100%, it was fervour, when it looked like there might be problems. The major fuss was over the fact that working people were trying to have a voice in the matter. Clinton denounced the naked pressure and raw muscle of the labour movement who were cajoling, based on friendship, and threatening, based on money, as they approached their representatives to tell them the way they wanted them to vote. This was outrageous, naturally. Months later the *New York Times* was still shuddering in horror over what they call the bullying from labour organisations, meaning they tried to approach their representatives to express their opinion on what they ought to do. Even the *New York Times*' most left-leaning commentator denounced what he called the backward unenlightened labour movement with their crude threatening tactics as working people dared to approach congressional representatives.

The *New York Times* and *Washington Post* both had big editorials in which they listed the contributions to local congresspeople who were planning to vote against NAFTA from labour organisations and the *Times* said there's an ominous pattern here of arm-twisting and so on. As a number of those greedy representatives later pointed out when it was too late, nobody listed the corporate contributions which were of course way higher, nobody listed the attitudes of advertisers of the *New York Times*. In fact there was nothing about corporate lobbying which of course totally swamped the labour lobbying. Corporate lobbying is considered no problem, that's the way the world is supposed to work. It's supposed to serve the rich, that's its job. It's when this begins to go awry and part of the population tries to enter the political arena in any marginal fashion, it's at that point that we get total hysteria which reveals that the natural hatred and fear of democracy is really passionate.

Right after his NAFTA triumph Clinton went off to the Asia Pacific summit in Seattle where he proclaimed his 'grand vision' of the free market future. Corporations to emulate were the Boeing Corporation, for example, and in fact he gave a speech about

the grand vision in a hanger of the Boeing Corporation and that was a perfect choice as Boeing is an almost totally subsidised corporation. In fact, the aeronautical industry—the leading export industry in the 1930s—couldn't survive and then the war came along and it made a huge amount of money by wartime profiteering, using the opportunity to rip off the public. They ended up with a lot of money but it was understood right after the Second World War that they were not going to survive in the mar-

"Chiapas is extremely impoverished and repressed but still reflects some sort of integrity and could do something constructive compared to US slums where there has been complete social destruction"

ket. If you read *Fortune* magazine and the business press it would explain how the aeronautical industry can't survive in the market. The public has to come in and subsidise them and in fact the aircraft industry, which includes avionics and electronics and complicated metallurgy, is simply subsidised through the Pentagon system and NASA. But nevertheless this is the model for the free market future because the profits are privatised and that's what counts—it's socialism for the rich: the public pays the costs and the rich get the profits. That's what the free market is in practice and that's what free enterprise is so Clinton was quite right in thinking that is the model of the free market future.

The current period has a resemblance—in fact sometimes an almost eerie resemblance—to the early days of the industrial revolution. If you read the current discussions about, say welfare and workfare in the US, there's been a revival of the classical liberal doctrines after a long lapse. It was extremely important at that time to break

"There is a recognition that working people are going to have to act on an international scale to combat this vicious class war being fought against them with its destructive effects"

down pre-capitalist social arrangements and beliefs. There was this strange belief that people had something that was called a right to live. In feudal society everybody had a place—true it was mostly a rotten place—but they had their place and you had a right to be in that place and to survive in that place. People have a right to live which is obviously incompatible with market principles. A large part of the thinking of the time—people like Malthus, Ricardo and so on—was to try to demonstrate by their science that there is no right to live. As Malthus put it, if you have no independent wealth and you can't survive by selling your labour on the labour market then go somewhere else, the United States or Australia; you have

no right to be here.

Then comes the standard story about trickle-down which we've all heard a thousand times. The result was that the population had abandoned their right to live and had been driven into the labour market or else into the workhouse-prison or else to leave. By the 1830s the science had been enacted into the law and throughout the whole period there were a lot of problems resulting.

One problem was that there were riots all over the place: the British army for a long time was involved in putting down riots. And then it got worse, it went from riots to organising, you got the beginning of the Chartist movement and later socialist organising and that began to challenge the right to rule—and that's getting dangerous. At that point the science—which is always a very convenient object—changed, and 'discovered' that the poor could be allowed the right to live after all. There were changes and by the time you get to mid-century with John Stuart Mill, and *The Principle of Political Economy*, there is an incipient form of what later became welfare state capitalism with democratic elements in reaction to the threat of the public which had to be put in its place. The science had to change: new rulers no longer had any need of science as an instrument of class war but they did need it to justify the need for a powerful state. In fact laissez faire became a bad word until quite recent years.

Today there's a kind of experiment going on to see if you can keep what is technically called a healthy economy—meaning high profits for the rich—by shifting production to the most repressed, most exploited parts of the global population and setting one labour force against another to drive it down: production by the superexploited and for the rich. It's not like the days of the national markets. Henry Ford realised he had to pay his workers a living wage because otherwise he couldn't sell cars but that's not always true any longer in the international economy. This is turning the world into a kind of Third World with its properties, including a huge number of superfluous people.

This can be seen in industrial countries, most dramatically in ones that are leading this movement: the US and Britain. In the US you see it in huge urban slums which are basically concentration camps which try to coop up superfluous people expecting them to prey on one another. If you can't coop them up in slums then they'll have to go off to prison. In fact the prison rate has shot way up and is by far the highest per capita prison rate in the industrial world. It may be symbolic that a couple of days after the NAFTA vote the Senate passed a very ominous crime bill calling for 100,000 new police, high-security regional prisons, boot camps for young offenders, extension of the death penalty and harsher sentencing, as well as other onerous measures. That makes sense, NAFTA is going to have the effect of polarising society and creating a more superfluous and impoverished population. It's also necessary to whip up the social control and there are standard ways of doing that, they're second nature: you whip up the fear and hatred. Fear of immigrants has ▶ 51



GATT

The End of the Citizen?

Open Eye interviews Tim Lang, co-author of *The New Protectionism—protecting the future against free trade*, about the alarming consequences of GATT and the unconstrained globalisation of economics

Can you explain the 'consumer' vs. 'citizen' distinction that you make in your book?

We argue in the book that the GATT represents the erosion of the citizen, the erosion of democracy; the French word citizen—citoyen—now becomes obsolete. Indeed the British Government is almost showing the way. Its Citizen's Charter is a consumer's charter, not a citizen's charter. A citizen is someone who elects the decision-making body, and that apparatus is answerable to them by a direct accountable method. The consumer is someone who is merely a customer, who pays for a service, and then maybe if he or she is lucky has some right of redress. The so-called British Citizen's Charter is in fact a consumers' redress charter. This is not the same thing as a citizen's charter. So we said that the GATT, and the trade liberalisation impetus of the GATT, is the death throes of the citizen, but the enshrinement of the consumer. And the consumers who gain from GATT are the elite, the rich, the affluent. Not the majority, not the mass. The right to choose or to get good value for money or to get your money back for a faulty good is not the same thing as getting a good world for all, or a sustainable environment or social justice.

Why have you called your proposals the 'New Protectionism'?

The word 'protect' has been given a very bad press by economists. Move out of economic worlds into, say, public health or the consumer and the word 'protect' has a far higher value. Those movements want to protect public health, to prevent ill health, and to protect the consumer against very powerful big corporations where you can't exactly go and seek redress by walking down the street to visit them. The people who design a product or make it may be the other side of the world yet in economics protection is the pits. It is associated with countries protecting inefficient industry, it's associated with the rise of Fascism, etc etc.

We went back and looked at the notion of protectionism and we said we don't want the old style of protectionism at all, any more

than free trade. By and large both have been used by the powerful to suit their interests everywhere in the world. Then we looked at the GATT. We said, this is designed to suit the powerful, to protect their interests. It's the ultimate dream of the free trade ideologists. GATT has not had any public consultation or real involvement; people haven't a clue what is going on. We think the GATT is the ultimate hi-jack.

It's the nadir of a process that began with the colonisation of the Americas, North and South, by Europe.

We've called our vision the 'New Protectionism' because we want to reclaim that word 'protect', and because we've asked: if one looks into the 21st century, what sort of economy will be needed? It's one where there'll have to be a reduction of long distance trade, where local economies will be the centre of policy focus, and where the goal will be to diversify production, and minimize unnecessary damage caused by economic activity, like burning fossil fuels into the atmosphere. In contrast, the GATT is about the globalisation of economics, ie its capturing by about 500 companies, arguing that what they want is identical with what the world needs.

People's image of world trade is a mixed

"GATT is about the globalisation of economics, i.e. its capturing by about 500 companies"

one—part awesome, part quaint, as though it happens by their local company putting its products in a rowing boat and taking it across to some other part of the world. It doesn't work like that. The top 500 companies, according to the UN, have two-thirds of world trade; 40% of world trade occurs within companies: the same company trading with itself in another country. So our conclusion is that GATT is about getting the perfect blank cheque handed over to the already powerful. And if you look at who is sacking workers at the moment, it's the very same big companies who've been pushing for the GATT. The big corporations everywhere around the world are 'restructuring' their workforces because they're preparing

for being able to move production to wherever the labour is cheapest, or because they're being able to merge factories, or because lowering barriers to trade enables them to exploit new technologies and processes.

If there are no barriers to trade and a decline in the capacity of governments to exert national sovereignty over things like environmental regulations, or labour rates, or social clauses in trade treaties, or employment policy, then there is absolutely nothing that stops a company from deciding where it's best to locate. So the GATT represents a momentous change in the role of governments, as well as signalling a move from the economic era of comparative advantage to a new economic era of absolute advantage.

Would your idea of the 'New Protectionism' have to be introduced in a block like the EC, which would be isolated, or else globally, all at once? It seems difficult to introduce it.

We are not into blueprints at all. It's not what our book was about, and not what our thinking is about. Both Colin Hines and I have worked for many years in the voluntary sector, and this book came out of our great unease, rising to anger, about the way in which the GATT was being pushed through. We felt there wasn't being a well argued articulate alternative, so we set out to produce just that, to say 'there is another way, there has to be another way'. Because if the globalisation continues, we think there will be serious problems; some people are arguing apocalyptic futures face us. We felt there had to be a more positive humane vision.

What we set out to do is to try and argue for something that addressed everyday concerns: people wanting work, wanting security, wanting a decent standard of living for their friends, families, households, and a world which healed the growing haemorrhage of North and South, of rich and poor, both within and between countries.

Do you see any signs of hope, for instance in the protests in India or France?

I think there are lots of signs of hope at the moment. I think the GATT could even turn out to be a pyrrhic victory for the pow-

erful forces of the world. Hardly is the package put together and they are already panicking about how they're going to create work within the heartlands of the rich areas of the world, let alone the poor areas of the world. This is a very delicate moment for the free traders. People are beginning to rumble key elements of their vision, such as a belief in de-regulated markets.

"This is the new world civil service, but where's the Parliament?"

The other area that gives me hope is the way in which resistance is building up: half a million farmers in India gathered to protest against the intellectual property rights agreement (the TRIPs) within the GATT. Most British people haven't even heard of TRIPs, but half a million peasants in India, came from all over India, protesting against it. In France, a land the British press tended to mock as the home of stupid venal French peasants, the understanding about GATT, in all classes, was far more sophisticated than in Britain. But even here there is the beginning of a doubt about whether the GATT is going to yield. We are in regular contact with politicians, right across the spectrum from the Maastricht rebels through to mainstream Conservatives, through to the Labour Party and the Liberal Democrats, the Greens. In all parties there is beginning to be an unease. It hasn't come fully out into the open yet, but there is beginning to be a bit of debate. We were surprised and very pleased when our book sold out and reprinted in six months. I mean this is an extraordinary thing for such an esoteric subject.

Wouldn't any country putting up protective tariffs, new protectionist measures, just find itself disastrously uncompetitive in today's globalised interdependent market, and capital would just seek profits elsewhere?

One of the key notions that we argue in the book is that transnational corporations need to be told: you don't sell here if you don't site here.

How would you sell the idea of 'New Protectionism' to people who probably expect it to raise prices, wrecking the world economy, like in the 1930s? JK Galbraith even said that when the GATT agreement has been made, nobody will notice the difference.

I think in a sense Galbraith is right, and in a sense he's wrong. He's right in the sense that the world didn't suddenly go rosy pink the next day after GATT was initialled in Marrakesh. He's wrong in the sense that GATT is a qualitative shift in world politics. Anyone who hasn't read the 450 pages of the GATT agreement is not in a position to judge its impact. Firstly, why vote for your MP if he or she has no power over world trade? The GATT gives decision-making power to a body that no one's even heard of, the World Trade Organisation. This replaces the GATT secretariat and is in fact the GATT Secretariat signing itself jobs and pensions for life. This is the new world civil service, but where's the Parliament? There is none. Yet national or regional Parliaments are now marginalised. There is absolutely no point having members of Parliament in Britain, France, Norway—wherever—Mali,

if decisions are going to be made by a 120+ member state body in Geneva, with no democratic direct accountability. I think that is a very big shift. I think anyone who thinks that isn't a shift is mad.

Secondly, the GATT symbolises a failure to respond to the major restructuring of world

economic activity. Do you really want a world in hock to the whims of the global capital markets when Africa or Latin America are crying out for capital? In the news we're already seeing this catastrophic curtailment of jobs, the cutting of employment, all over the world, by big corporations preparing for the world of absolute advantage as opposed to the world of comparative advantage.

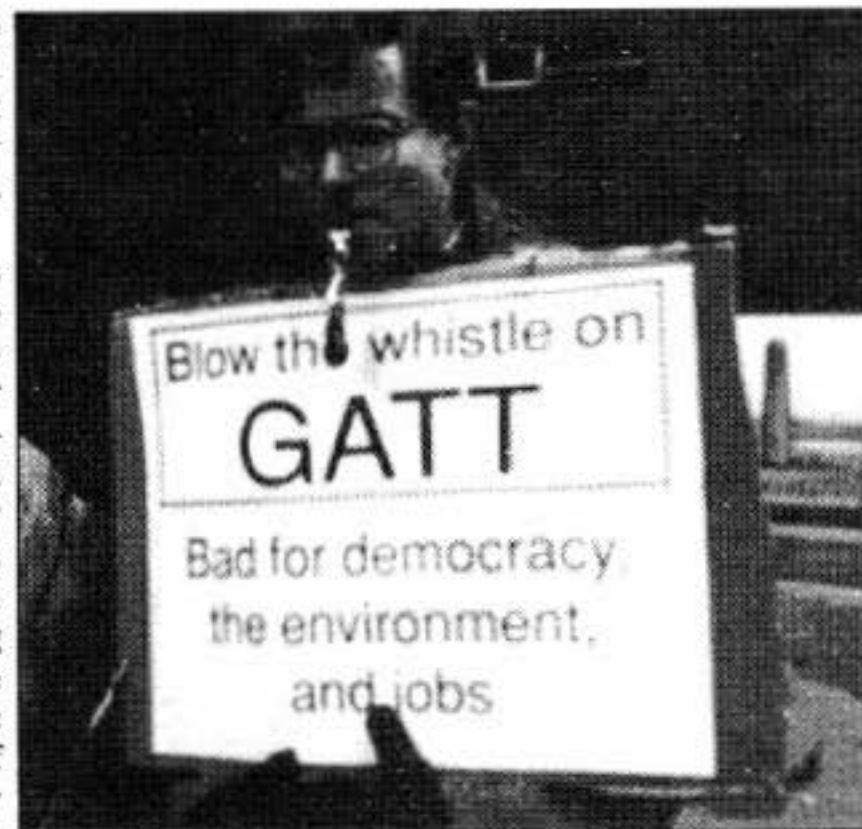
You may ask, isn't it going to be inefficient and expensive to resist this new world economy? We argue very, very clearly in our book that we're not against competition. There has to be competition. The question is, within what boundaries? Between what? The world is moving to a system of production dominated by design and information. We see no reason why information and designs cannot go round the world. Absolutely not. The problem is when vast amounts of goods and capital start being shipped

"The middle classes can't escape. The Volvo will not take them far enough"

around the world and when work collapses in whole tracts of the world, and when capital, production and control concentrates and is specialised only in some areas of the world. This centralisation makes the world's economy lopsided, and leads to all the social and ecological problems that we outline in the book.

One issue we discuss in the book is that there has to be some internalisation of environmental costs. The environmental critique of conventional economics is that companies—or end-consumers—are not paying the full cost of environmental damage when they press for goods to be cheaper. The cost of cheaper production is environmental damage and over-reliance on unrenovable energy, and pollution. GATT does nothing to create production methods that don't cause the pollution in the first place. Environmental damage, which at the moment is not featuring in the price that you or I pay for our shirt or car, or transport or food, or goods or services, needs to be incorporated into the cost of those goods and services. So, yes, some prices must go up, they must go up.

At the moment, we're getting cheaper shirts, but having to pay for three locks on the door. And the three locks on the door are because of social dislocation, more crime, more 'anomie', as the social theorists of the 19th century used to call it. The British under Thatcher have been one great experiment; and the Thatcherite experiment,



of deregulating and trade liberalizing everything, has failed. The result now is massive unemployment, casualisation of work resulting in social disequilibrium and insecurity. Unlike the 19th century, the middle classes cannot escape this situation. They can't go to the colonies or flee from the polluted or depressing towns. They can't escape. The Volvo will not take them far enough. Hence the end of Galbraith's era of the "culture of contentment".

You asked me earlier, where is the hope? I think one of the great hopes of the moment is people are now making that connection between these structural shifts, way beyond their individual control, and their own insecurity. Those people who did very nicely out of the late 70s and 80s are now realizing that they have benefited for a moment, not for ever. Even if they remain in work, if others do not, the culture of insecurity impinges on them. So, some prices must go up. I think if people realize why they need to go up, they accept that. If you look at poll after poll, it shows that people are prepared to pay more taxes—higher costs—for better quality of goods.

What has the Left's response been to GATT and NAFTA?

Silence.

You say the Third World should jump off the treadmill of export-orientated growth policies. How can they do this?

We argue for a midway between autarchy—total self sufficiency behind closed doors—which is a recipe for dictators, and free trade, which is another recipe for the powerful to crush the poor. We argue for self-reliance. We say: trade and aid only for self reliance in both North and South.

Sir James Goldsmith paints a very gloomy picture of a world in which billions of people are thrown off the land and into slums once they are forced to compete with intensive farming and monoculture. He also sees Europe unable to compete with areas where wages are 95% lower. Would you agree with his scenario?

Yes, absolutely. It's not just a vision from the North. One of the things that has given both Colin and me enormous confidence and pleasure, is hammering out our ideas with friends and colleagues, throughout the world, North and South, East and West. Sir

James Goldsmith is an exception, as is Ross Perot, in daring to voice the doubts that many are privately voicing. They're not on their own. What they are unusual in is voicing it publicly, from a Right starting point, and as prominent captains of industry.

You say 90% of the £900 billion traded on the world currency markets every day is not linked to any real trade and suggest an international transfer tax on foreign exchange transactions. Is there any sign of movement towards one?

No, but there are interesting forays into that issue such as the recent Californian decision to tax TNCs global activity. I think even if you don't accept our arguments about the GATT, and don't like our alternative vision, the challenge to pro-GATT Labour and Liberal politicians is how to raise money to compensate for the enormous damage that is inevitably going to follow from GATT, and is already happening from economic globalisation. There has to be some sort of reworking of taxation. The old notion of taxation based upon nation states is undermined by the GATT. Capital only goes to where it makes most money, not where it's needed. Even the World Bank, that appallingly callous institution, is now recognizing that its policies have failed for Sub-Saharan Africa, for example. It has led to a disaster of apocalyptic proportion. There is absolutely no doubt about that. In which case we have to take hold of capital. These whizz kids in the City, in Frankfurt, in Tokyo, in New York, who sit and make billions—for what? How? By flicking money about the world. It doesn't go to that small peasant who could transform his or her production for the sake of a little bit of a concrete path here, or a new implement there. The whole notion of taking hold of capital is something that now must be at the top of the political agenda. And yet, the politicians are abject in their supine accedance to the diktats of capital. And here in Britain, of course, we have the illustration par excellence where our Government—our elected government—had its entire economic policy destroyed by the City, in the destruction of its policies that forced it to leave the ERM. That was the illustration to end all illustrations that politics is now in the hands of the City. Politicians are confining themselves to the margins, by and large willingly, it seems.

Can you give some examples of the GATT agreement's worst effects at the moment?

The GATT package was finalised on December 15th 1993 and initialled on April 15th 1994, but it's not going to be completed until all 120 or so countries who initialled it in Marrakesh on April 15th have ratified it. Indeed there's a major subterranean row going on that I'm party to in Europe about whether the European Parliament is going to be allowed to vote on it or whether it'll just be a decision of the Commission. Note, that's the European Parliament; not British Parliament, French Parliament or Greek Parliament. Already, major decisions are happening out of the sight of the ordinary citizen.

You asked for examples. Let me give you

three. Firstly, I would say the WTO, the World Trade Organisation, is probably the single most important issue because here is the demolition of the struggle for democracy—begun by the French Revolution—over the last 200 years. You now have no citizens'

control over the WTO, the body which will determine the shape of the world's economy, together with the International Monetary Fund and

the World Bank.

Secondly, the Intellectual Property Rights Agreement of the GATT is an extremely important alteration of patents. Essentially, now, a country cannot control the patents or intellectual property rights that happen within its borders. It is the reason the Indians demonstrated in Bangalore and Delhi. An American company has already taken up a patent on a product of the millennia old Indian tree called the Neem tree. So here is a product freely available and used by Indian peasants as everything from an insecticide to a constituent of soap, and for firewood, now being hi-jacked by a US company on the other side of the globe.

Thirdly, in my own area of food policy, all decision making about food standards is going to be handed over to a body called the Codex Alimentarius Commission, which most people have never heard of. People get very sensitive about the food that they eat, it's something that's very dear to them and they like to think that they can help control standards; they can complain to MPs or MEPs. The GATT proposes a new regime on food standards. It says that if there is a dispute between the standards of Brazil and the standards of say, Norway, advice will be taken from the Codex Alimentarius Commission, which is a UN body, serviced by the Food and Agriculture Organisation and the World Health Organisation.

A colleague from Ralph Nader's organisation in the US and two of us from Britain studied the membership and participation of this body. Codex's membership is two and a half thousand people strong. Here is a vast new bureaucracy now beginning to take over food standards. We looked at this vast new bureaucracy that has say 300 people meeting on additives, 300 people meeting on pesticide residues, and we found 1/3 of the membership and participation at the Codex Alimentarius Commission, over the two year life cycle that we looked at, was from transnational corporations. Not just any transnational corporations, but the very biggest. Yet this body is now going to arbitrate on trade disputes. God help us.

You have recently been made Professor of Food Policy at Thames Valley University. What would be the main long-term changes you would like to see in Britain's food and agriculture policy?

I think the British public is now more interested in food than at any time since the Second World War and the ending of rationing and shortages.

In the 1970s Britain joined the European

Union and acceded to the Common Agricultural Policy. The CAP is in part misunderstood by the public. They think most of the money goes to farmers. It doesn't. Eighty percent of the money goes to the top 20% of farmers, so it actually goes to big farmers. But not even half of the total cost of the Common Agricultural Policy goes to farmers—most of it goes to traders. They and the big farmers make the money out of the Common Agricultural Policy. It is a scandal that we're basically paying traders to dump surpluses in other parts of the world, and destroy their agriculture to boot. One of the things that Colin Hines and I argued for in our book, and most forward-thinking strategists about agricultural policy call for, is that goal number one must be to cut export dumping.

A sensible food policy would aim not for total self-sufficiency but to maximize self-reliance, to maximize local production of food. It is crazy to import lettuces when they can be grown here. Production needs to diversify and meet local markets. This prairie farming that the tax payer has paid for must come to an end. All expert committees agree the British have a lamentable dietary health record. We have been over-producing food but leading the world in dying prematurely from diseases like heart disease and food-related cancer, breast cancer, bowel cancers, cancers of the colon, and so on. So there has to be a dramatic shift.

Now the good news is, the Government has recognized the health element of that challenge. The 'Health of the Nation' White Paper was a very, very important recognition

that there must be a re-jigging, but I think the challenge for the next century must be to integrate the bits of the food policy jigsaw, to weld health, food,

farming, environment and employment policies into an integrated whole. Government, because of its free market ideology, is refusing to take a grip of production, refusing to take a grip of retail, refusing to take a grip of training and educating the citizen. For example you can see this in the curriculum: cooking has now been removed from the schools' curriculum; there is no cooking being taught. We are the first nation now to experiment with both sexes, not just the male sex, being a deskilled generation. So, my vision for food policy is that we now know a lot of what's wrong; what we now have to do is generate the political will, and generate the popular imagination, to support and push for the changes right across the food economy, from farm to factory, to consumption, to the consumer. We must enable that consumer to be a food citizen, not just a passive consumer who destroys the environment even while they eat.

Tim Lang is Professor of Food Policy at Thames Valley University and was formerly director of the London Food Commission and Parents for Safe Food.



The New Repression

Indian scientist and radical ecologist Vandana Shiva fears that a single authoritarian vision is sweeping the globe and making millions of people superfluous. A contrasting sustainable vision is urgently needed

You say we need a sustainable relationship to the land, why?

I think one of the things that is becoming so clear is that the development pattern that has assumed that agriculture should be free of people and loaded with machines and chemicals and that people's only habitation should be the city is at the root of the unsustainability of the city as well as of agriculture. One of the key things we really need now is the shift into sustainability of some kind. We just have to get used to not having to talk of the fact that a stable society means going backwards—because we don't have any option but to go into the future, into stability of some kind.

Every time people talk about what will be needed for sustainability, the response is "Oh, you want to go back?" There's no going back. Right now we are in a cul-de-sac and we'd better get out of it: it is a dead end! Cities as the only habitation of increasingly disenfranchised people for whom there is no work are non-sustainable social systems and they're non-sustainable ecological systems. That is the model on which the big decisions are being made: get people off the land, have agribusiness running all the food enterprises, create market deregulation for labour, let people's salaries drop, let workers become more part-time, let men sit jobless, let women come out and do part-time insecure jobs, let the male ego get even further fractured—so the husband will start beating up the wife when she returns after having gone out, not because she has a choice but because she's the only one who's willing to work and able to work on a part-time basis. There is non-sustainability building up right in the household, which leads to increased violence against women.

Soon people can't walk safely down the street. Some kid without a job will have to snatch your camera to get the food for that night, or the drugs, or the drink or whatever it is and even for the better-off the system will necessarily mean more and more enclaves of protection built into an unstable situation. So if peace, sustainability and justice are to be arrived at, this imbalance that

has been created has to go and the opportunity for us is the fact that we are moving away from the dominant paradigm that has assumed that jobs are not important, livelihoods are not important, people are not important. I think we have to just say people are important, and the recovery of the planet does not mean forgetting people.

What would a sustainable future pattern look like?

We have to learn from the old pattern and derive the principles from the old pattern. No matter how futuristic your agricultural system, if it's sustainable it'll have to be based on the perennial systems of conserving water, and conserving nutrients. If you can't do that, it's not sustainable. In the past agriculture was based on a system that lives

"We are entering a more authoritarian era than we've ever had before"

within the bounds of the fertility cycle and lives within the bounds of the water cycle—those are inevitabilities—and that's where it had better be based in the future.

How will all this work? To me at the ecological and social level the only way to build up is to take concrete problems in concrete situations and find the solutions. Sustainability has to be worked out by taking a city that is becoming non-sustainable, finding people who are becoming surplus, finding agriculture that is becoming non-sustainable and putting together the three things to

"GATT and free trade will create so much destruction that even the north will start to experience what the Third World has experienced"

meet each other's needs. It will have to be built bit by bit and if, as my sense is, the crisis is so deep and the solutions work, they will trigger all kinds of other people taking it on because the one thing I see GATT and free traders doing is that it will equalise the discourse North and South. It will create so much destruction that even the North will start to experience what the Third World has experienced. For the first time we are entering a situation where for the North and for the South the issue is survival for the majority of people and finding something that works in a period where survival should not work. The plans have no place for you. Well if one person can make it then the next can

and then the next can and the next can.

What have been the most successful protests against the GATT juggernaut?

In India I've been part of protests where 500,000 farmers came out to say no to GATT and patenting and other things. It's crazy for a country like India to accept free trade in agriculture where imports will remove people from agriculture and exports will remove land from food production and we can't afford either. We've had a lot of direct action around this and I think permanent direct action has to be part of what all this is about because when they say GATT is free trade, basically it is freedom and no limits for those who control global capital.

Quite clearly there is more and more unfreedom: the farmer who is not allowed to save his seed for the next year because of intellectual property rights. It's so clear to us that this is unfreedom for the farmer. So free trade is built on many unfreedoms and if that freedom still has to be retained or created anew it must involve direct action, it must involve doing things differently from what is planned for you in this GATT juggernaut.

It involves something simple like farmers setting up seed banks. It involves something simple like consumers insisting that the food they will eat will have to come from local neighbourhoods and will generate employment for local communities, consumers insisting that in the process they help generate livelihoods on land as well as generate livelihoods in services. Agribusiness is not just production, it's also distribution.

The solutions in the concrete will come out of direct action that is so creatively thought out that it can last. I think sustainability of activism is the new thing we have to think about, because we are entering a more authoritarian era than we've ever had before. Basic rights of dissent in a democracy will be treated as very dangerous and the state, instead of being that which regulates uncontrolled greed, will become that which implements the agenda of uncontrolled greed and a state that is inverted in that way, which stops being the regulator of economic power and becomes the instrument of economic power, must necessarily have only one function left and that function is of law and order management. It is in the structure of the system. It will not be that a Thatcher is horrible or that a Narasimha Rao is a bastard—it is the system that is going to force them to act increasingly in these ways. But if that's the case we have got to find counter-strategies of permanent resistance in ways that recharge us, bring us cre-

ative energy and as Gandhi always said "in the resistance is built the creative construction of an alternative". So you're doing three things at the same time: you're saying 'no', you're building alternatives that work in that situation and into the bargain you're empowering yourself. It's very often said

that power is one level of fiction to which the powerless subscribe. The power of GATT is only to the extent that the rest of us take it lying down. It is powerless if across the board people treat one or two things as being very very basic. If every woman in the world recognises the fact that today as a privileged consumer of the North she has the most tremendous countervailing power even as a housewife to decide what kind of food system we will have in the future and just uses that visit to the grocery as a vote: a daily place to construct alternatives.

The women of Sweden decided through pressure in organic farming and consumption—green consumerism—to have all packages declare where the food is produced, which number, who can be called and who's accountable. In fact people are going more and more for packages that can tell you that it was this family, this little kid with the tooth missing, that was involved in growing this piece of carrot. Now if something like that can be brought onto the global free trade agenda then free trade won't go where it was meant to go—it will basically go to rebuild community and rebuild local economies but we have to be ingenious and, like I said, thank God we don't have the luxury to waffle around and ask "will it work or won't it work?"—because I think so many people are going to be in such bad situations otherwise. We will have to innovate. We will just have to invent survival again.

How can we transform knowledge?

Knowledge has never grown in cumulative patterns. It's not that we have knowledge and keep building on it, while all the rest of it stays. Every time we make a choice of a certain knowledge system and every time governments and people agree to endow a certain stream they're also saying that another was worthless so let's kill it. So every step in financing, high financing, for molecular biology and genetic engineering is more of a death sentence to ecology, evolutionary biology and all the other biological disciplines that are fundamental to the recovery of this planet. So when people say there is more knowledge and we should use it or else the researchers will be out of work, basically the opposite is already happening. Researchers are being told you have no place unless you can work for profit. If you work for basic knowledge—if you work for societal knowledge—if you work for knowledge that is necessary but may not necessarily spin a dollar then you are out of work. That's already happened. We have once more to make a societal choice about whether we are going to allow this model of progress in research to kill basically all of humanity's heritage and knowledge, which is what will

"We have got to find counter-strategies of permanent resistance in ways that recharge us"

happen, and of course we'll have lots of people who can read the gene sequences of all kinds of organisms but cannot identify that organism itself. That's what's already hap-

pening. There's a wonderful essay by one of the leading ecologists in the US called "Forgetting" and he's just reporting on what has happened to one biology department. He says as molecular biology has grown and earned its living through joint ventures with corporations all the other biology departments have faded away. It's not the case that knowledge just grows and expands: every bit of knowledge that gets created, unless it is ecological and has all the integrations in mind at every point, every bit of knowledge that's reductionist that grows is an island with a bigger sea of ignorance than we have ever had before. Before

we introduced pesticides, we didn't need to know what pesticides do, but once we introduced pesticides we needed to know and we never had that knowledge. So the sea of ignorance is growing much faster than the islands of light and with genetic engineering that sea of ignorance is going to be huge.

Is there a role for personal change?

I think each person has to change, but each person thinking they're an island and making changes, as is very often the fashion in the West—you pay a hell of a lot of money for that internal change—will not bring about change. We are in a period of history where the deepest spiritual transformation involves very direct involvement in daily matters and a process of political transformation there, and that requires a very deep inner source of strength, to understand one's own scale, one's contribution, one's significance, or lack of it. I think that's very

"The state will have only one function left: law and order management"

much the key because if you don't have a sense of the lack of significance you get huge egos. So it's absolutely true everyone must change, but everyone must change with the knowledge of being connected to bigger, larger processes. I think for the West the big transformation required is how will we get into a better world without necessarily having it premised on the privileged status of the West? How will ecological recovery take place without deciding how every tribal should supply to European markets?

We may begin to think less in terms of consumption and more in terms of meaning, and quality of life.

You often talk about women; what is women's big mission in this transformation?

That they don't have a mission. Part of the problem was that we had too many missionaries in the past. The first round of missionaries went out and annihilated millions in the name of deliverance and the next round of missionaries went out and brought 'development' as the next mission. Now they're

bringing free trade as the next mission. I think missionary zeal has more often than not created more problems than it has solved. I think what's wonderful about women and their effectiveness is that they don't have a mission, they do have causes, and they do have things they love, and they will fight long to protect, and it is without overarching order from somewhere that enough of them care and they care simultaneously. But each of them cares in their own terms and it's the resonance of that kind of highly autonomous action and highly autonomous politics that is the power of the women's movement and women as activists, women as thinkers.

Is there really a 'caring' part of women that is important?

When I talk about this I get jumped on. Do you want to maintain the sexual division of labour between women who care and men who don't? Of course one doesn't want

that—one would love men to be more caring. Not only that, one would love to have men who have the capacity to be more caring because I think men want to care and I think the capacity is somewhere far away,

so the issue really is that all of us have to care. We're getting enough of the breed of women who don't care at all.

Vandana Shiva is a physicist and philosopher of science turned ecological activist. She is the author of *Staying Alive – Women, Ecology and Development*, *The Violence of the Green Revolution – Third World Agriculture, Ecology and Politics* and *Monocultures of the Mind – Perspectives on Biodiversity and Biotechnology* and, with Maria Mies, *Ecofeminism*. She won the Right Livelihood Award—the alternative Nobel prize—in 1993. Contact address: Foundation for Science, Technology and Natural Resource Policy, 105 Rajpur Road, Dehra Dun 248001, India.

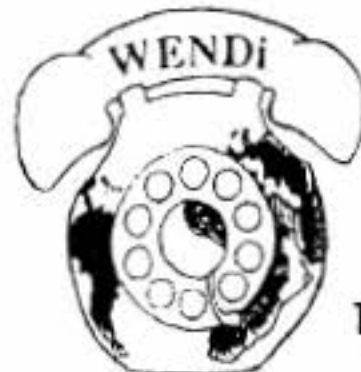
This interview was recorded at a press conference during the International Transpersonal Association's conference 'Toward Earth Community: Ecology, Native Wisdom and Spirituality'. Other speakers included Arne Naess, Stanislaw Grof and Helena Norberg-Hodge. We include an interview with another speaker, Native American activist Winona LaDuke, in issue 4.

International Transpersonal Association: 20 Sunnyside Avenue, A-257, Mill Valley, CA 94941, USA.

Interested in cooperatives?

The Radical Routes Network is a national cooperative which helps to fund new cooperatives (housing, trading, farming etc), run by people – often unemployed or homeless – who would otherwise find it difficult to raise the finances. Radical Routes helps bypass the social prejudice of the banks. If you are interested in secure ethical investment (£50 upwards) or would like to find out more about setting up a cooperative or joining one contact: Radical Routes Ltd Ethical Investment Office, Freepost BM 2976, Birmingham B18 5BN. Tel 0121 551 1679; fax 0121 515 3524. Registry Number 27587R.

• The Homeless Information Project on 0171 277 7639 offer advice and practical support.



Tel 0171 704 6800

• The Women's Environmental Network Directory of Information. Forget the wild, 'green' boasts of manufacturers – ring the WENDI hotline for authoritative and independent information about consumer products. Open every weekday from 11am to 2pm and 3pm to 6pm on 0171 704 6800.

The New Terror Weapons

As the old National Security machinery frantically searches for new roles, the US military has come up with an astonishing idea: wars in which no one dies. Enter stage right... non-lethal warfare.

In 1993 the American Department of Defence (DoD) released information to the media about a new concept called non-lethal warfare. As was outlined in TV programmes, articles, and a recent book, non-lethal warfare would involve the US equipping itself with weapons that disable an enemy's war-making capability without large numbers of human casualties. However sensible non-lethal warfare may seem at first sight once analysed it is exposed as a façade created to hide uncomfortable post-Cold War agendas:

- To appear legitimate in the post-Cold War world future American invasions will require UN approval. This will be facilitated if casualties on the scale of the bombing of Iraq in 1991 can be avoided. Non-Lethal Weapons (NLWs) can be used by rich aggressive states to give legitimacy to their invasions of other countries.

- The US can contrast its 'humane' methods of war with the 'inhumane' methods of the poorer countries it invades. Already American actions have media legitimacy; this can be enhanced by staged battles in which only American troops shed blood.

- NLWs make war cheaper by reducing the need for interdiction raids and reducing the damage to capital equipment in enemy territory which may belong to Western companies.

- They offer the huge arms manufacturers a lifeline. Making nuclear missiles is now neither good economics nor good PR. These companies have long experience in a particular set of NLWs, as we discuss below.

- Some NLWs have long been used in dealing with civil disturbances, blurring the distinction between using police and military methods. However the new equipment discussed below will require operation by specialist police squads or soldiers – further militarising civil affairs. Some NLWs are silent and invisible making it possible to covertly deliver physical force in civil society.

- NLWs will also make the application of covert military force much easier. The military can apply force and dominate a situation without obviously having done so, i.e. without the blood and collateral damage of overt power projection – artillery bombardments, airstrikes etc. They would hide the real nature of an American invasion from both the indigenous population and the world.

- Is the concept of non-lethal warfare a cover to hide from the public something more sinister – a new and terrifying range of weapons for the military arsenal?

Non-Lethal Warfare in the Pentagon

1993-4 saw the resolution of an internal war over NLW's within the US Department of Defence: *"The conflict within the Pentagon centres on whether to keep non-lethal weapons secreted away in the 'black' part of the DoD's budget, or to go into the 'white' and make the program public."*

It resulted in the launch of the seemingly desirable concept of non-lethal warfare. There will be a massive investment program, about \$1bn over the next few years, and an effort akin to the SDI project is now under way. The Army's Training & Doctrine Command (TRADOC) is rewriting military strategy to account for the new weapons. It states that *"A wide range of disabling measures now exists. This was not true 10 years ago."* Clearly it was decided that NLWs had reached a stage of development that could no longer be hidden. Yet they released few details about the weapons systems to be used in a non-lethal conflict. Instead there was an increase in secrecy surrounding the weapons that will form the backbone of the program.

Media attention was focused on useless gimmicks and riot-control equipment that has been in military use for three decades. Do these require \$1bn of development funding and a rewrite of military strategy?



A DoD spokesperson called NLW's *"An important adjunct to the common instruments of war"*. The truth of this is demonstrated by the Outrider laser, here mounted on top of a Hummer all-terrain vehicle. It is envisioned that fast and manoeuvrable Outrider-equipped vehicles work in conjunction with TOW anti-tank missile vehicles, Outrider disabling a number of targets in preparation for their destruction by TOW.

It seems that for all the rhetoric about Non-Lethal Warfare the military see things quite differently. A senior DoD official described the term as *"an almost obscene oxymoron"*.



An early prototype laser rifle developed in the mid-80s, a decade before the announcement of the non-lethal concept. The US Army has 1,100 of a smaller updated version of this, the Light Infantry Self Defense (sic) System. The LISD laser is specifically designed to damage the human eye, oscillating between five colours that the human eye is most susceptible to. Multi-coloured lasers are expensive to shield against and the lenses are bulky. The result will be that lasers become exclusively anti-personnel weapons because sensors on expensive weapon systems will be shielded. The Red Cross has called for them to be banned.

Why Keep The Systems Secret?

The Pentagon used the language of yesterday claiming disclosure would aid an enemy developing counter-measures. The real reason was that they feared the public would be outraged at these new terrifying weapons, which are clearly intended to be used almost exclusively in an anti-personnel role.

The weapons are so horrific that there was debate in the DoD about whether they violate treaties governing humanity in war. The effects on the human body of the *"most promising"* NLWs would be similar to banned weapons like mustard gas: burns, burning blisters, blindness, nausea, and death in acute exposure.

So what are these weapons?

Frequency Weapons

The weapons that the army is really interested in can be termed Frequency Weapons [FWs] for they use the non-ionising part of the electromagnetic spectrum. Examples are lasers, High Powered Microwave (HPM), infrasound, 'plasma bullet' guns, Electromagnetic Pulse [EMP] and radio frequency devices. Some FWs were developed under the SDI programme, which has now been scrapped, and have been given a new home under the title NLW.

Frequency weapons *"have the most potential"* as weapons yet there was very little information released about them, and much on what is effectively updated riot-control technology [see illustrations over]. It would not be a wild accusation to say that the Pentagon is anxious to hide the capability of its FWs.

There has been more information released about lasers [see illustrations] than other FWs. It is also known that there are plans to use microwave devices that act *"like an outward-working microwave oven"* on the battlefield. One use is explained by the *Wall Street Journal*: *"...potent microwaves could be deployed to detonate enemy ammunition dumps before the munitions could be used."*

FWs are Anti-Personnel Weapons

The Pentagon uses language that hides the real anti-personnel functions of FWs. Lasers *"blind enemy sensors"* but only *"dazzle ene-*



my pilots". When anti-personnel uses are addressed the victims of blindness or "*exploding eyeballs*" are not enemy soldiers, but "*terrorists*".

The Pentagon is suggesting that NLWs are primarily for use against weapons platforms rather than people. However the TRADOC makes it clear that people are the weak link in weapons systems and that NLWs are being developed as an advance in anti-personnel weaponry.

Microwave and laser weapons exist that can turn human beings into fireballs. It is all a matter of wattage. A weapon that one minute temporarily blinds or renders an enemy unconscious can the next, with a turn of the 'power level' dial, cut them in two or "cook their internal organs". Non-lethal for CNN, lethal when the media are not around to see. NLWs give a "new spectrum of options" as TRADOC puts it.

A Frequency Weapons Ban?

Frequency weapons are a leap in technology, they are as different from existing weapons as poison gas was in the First World War. Existing treaties concentrate on banning named technologies such as chemical agents or fragmenting bullets, which are deemed too inhumane. However the Geneva Conventions, the 1972 Biological Warfare Convention or the Chemical Warfare Convention, are based on an abhorrence of the effects of these weapons. It would seem likely that lasers which can *"explode the eyeballs of a soldier"* or microwaves which *"cook your insides"* would be seen as inhumane and be banned. One laser weapons expert noted:

The media was steered towards the more acceptable NLWs – the photos and sound bites were of passive technologies such as lubricants and foams (slick-'em & stick-'em). These weapons are largely refinements of equipment developed by the US during its war with Vietnam and put into the police arsenal for use against civil rights protesters during the 60s. There already exist clear doctrines and tactics for their use in both civil and military contingencies. On the left a riot control lubricant spray from the 1960s called 'Instant Banana Peel' and now called a 'new' Non-Lethal Weapon. On the right is what the media swallowed as an example of a Non-Lethal Weapon: cavity insulation foam.

"I don't know that non-lethality is all that humane"

Well aware that they would be banned the Pentagon came clean about the existence of non-lethal weapons including vague details about frequency weapons. They preempted any criticism of them with a media campaign to make them seem MORE humane than existing weapons. It is very difficult to criticise as inhumane a weapon that is shown in the media as heralding the beginning of an era of wars without death. As long as the Pentagon can prevent disclosure of inhumane anti-personnel functions it will be very difficult to get FWs banned.

The EMP bomb

During the Gulf war in 1991 cruise missiles with EMP warheads were used against the Iraqis. This information was released via the American military trade publication *Defence News* in April 1992, but was not referred to when the NLW announcements were made in 1993. This is highly significant. The 1993 announcements talked of the EMP devices being "in development" yet they were deployed for military use in 1991. Therefore advanced development had taken place during the 1980s.

Even more significant is that the *Sunday Telegraph* (27/9/92) carried a piece (confirmed by the MOD) on the development of a British microwave EMP bomb, yet makes no reference to the American's use of similar weapons in the Gulf War. The article explains that the bombs "work by emitting a massive pulse of radio energy [which] would render humans unconscious by scrambling neural paths in the brain but would not cause last-



ing injury". It refers to the microwave EMP bomb as "*an outsize stun grenade*", clearly showing that this weapon is designed to be used against people. The *Telegraph* article refers to the radio wave emitted from it resonating at a "*set frequency*". This means that the military have identified a particular frequency that effects the human brain and are not just relying on a scatter-gun effect of a broad spectrum of frequencies. This would have required extensive microwave EMP research on human subjects. ***But who would consent to being exposed to cancer causing Electro-Magnetic Pulses?***

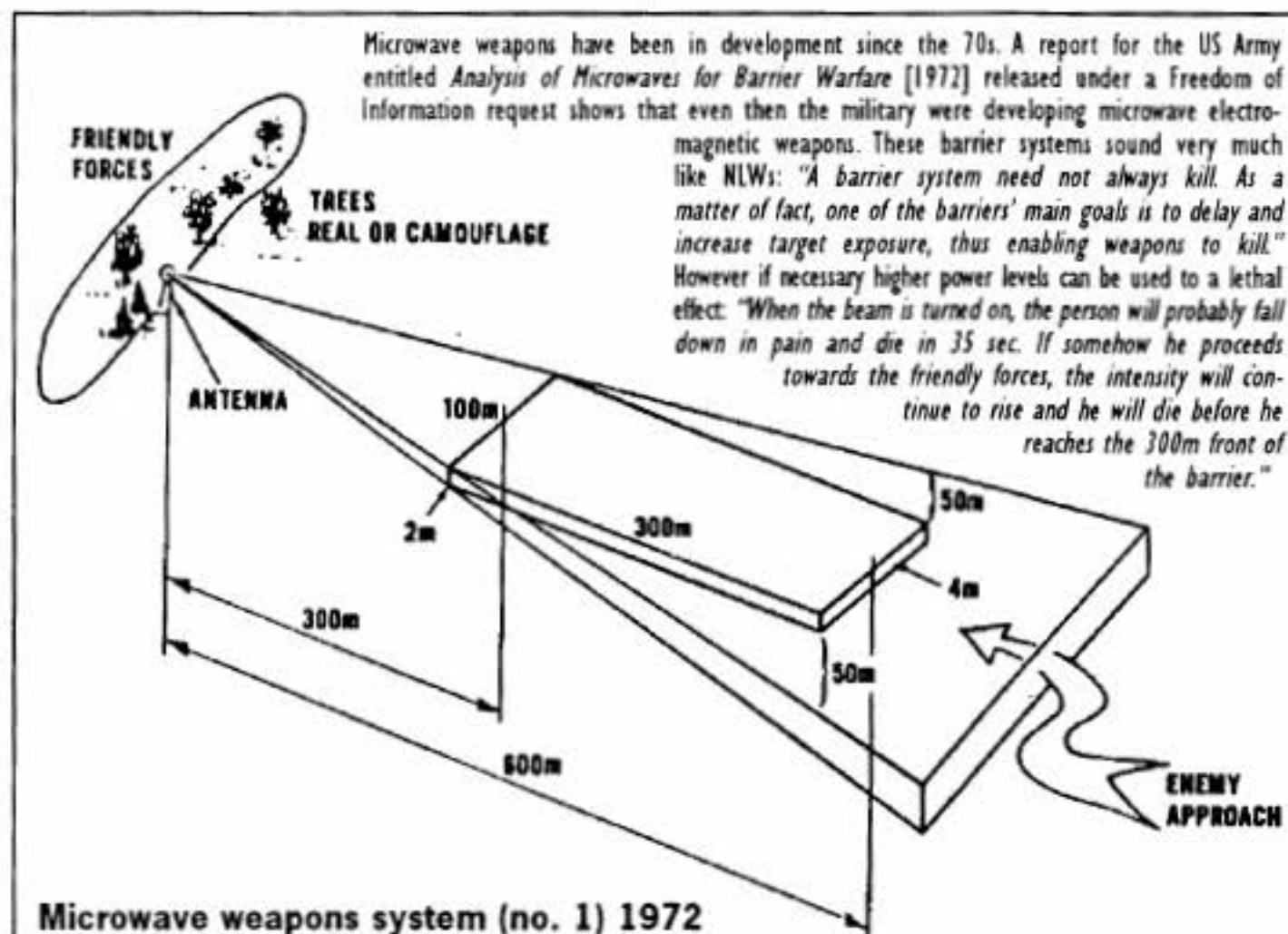
In issue 2 we looked at the case of the Verneys. Here Armen Victorian looks at the story of Robert Strom. We leave the reader to draw conclusions about whether both were victims of a secret Frequency Weapons development and testing program.

Armen Victorian is a well known researcher and contributor to magazines including *Lobster*. He recently obtained the first official admission that the British government carried out secret tests of LSD as a mind-control agent on human guinea pigs.

Victorian's investigations and use of the US Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) to gain information from the US government have brought him to the attention of the secret state. In his FOIA correspondence he was mistakenly sent a September 1993 confidential internal memorandum from Colonel John Alexander which proposed to prevent him from using the FOIA. Alexander wrote that "if a central database on FOIA is available" then names could be checked and he suggested that the government "not respond to any of his requests, current or future." The memo made clear the extent to which Alexander was willing to go — in spite of the fact that "the requests appear to be within legal bounds" — to frustrate the researcher: "Previously, I have discussed these matters with members of the CIA and NSA. I considered going to the State Department and having them ask the British Government to intervene". "I have learned," Alexander added, "that the CIA has asked both British Intelligence and the Police to assist in resolving problems with Victorian". Col. Alexander works on non-lethal weapons development at the Los Alamos National Laboratory and, in the memo, makes a surprising admission of "extensive experience in the field" of "near-death studies".

Victorian complains of a string of break-ins, mail-tampering and disappearance, and other harassment and suspicious activity including phone-tapping and two phone bills for £5,000: over ten times his usual bill (see *Lobster* 28 p12-13). BT's case against him for refusing to pay has recently been dropped. Victorian is waiting for a response from the British Security Services Tribunal after asking for an investigation into his treatment. Send SAE for details of his case.

A fact file which contains copies of the sources used in the articles on NLWs, radiological warfare and Robert Strom is available from *Open Eye* for £2. It includes 20 pages of newspaper clippings, a transcript of the Strom programme and a summary of the DIA "Barrier Warfare" paper.



The Killing of Robert Strom

Armen Victorian looks at the case of Robert Strom, an employee of the Boeing Corporation for 27 years. During work for them he contracted a rare type of leukaemia. Strom then discovered that he was the unwitting victim of experiments by Boeing into the effects of Electromagnetic Pulses (EMP) on people. With his health in terminal decline he used the last of his energy on a lawsuit against his employer.

When interviewed on CBS's "60 Minutes" (March 5th 1989, "Strom vs. Boeing") he was asked by Mike Wallace: "What do you want from the Boeing Company now?" Strom answered: "The Boeing Company can't give me anything I want. I want to live!" He added: "My death is imminent, and I know that. And it is difficult to hold back the anger I feel for the Boeing Company. They've violated basic human rights, and used criminal ethics in their treatment of EMP [Electromagnetic Pulse] workers."

In 1960 scientists discovered how EMP created from their nuclear tests was disabling and disarming circuit breakers several hundreds of miles away. They noticed how one such blast could totally paralyse weapon systems in a theatre of war. Protecting these systems against EMP became a top priority. Boeing was awarded contracts from the US Air Force to test the effects of EMP on missile systems.

Robert Strom started work on EMP tests at Boeing in Seattle back in 1983. His task was to test missile protection systems against EMP. To do so, he used a high-voltage EMP simulator, firing it hundreds of times per day inside an enclosed room. He was never told anything about the hazards of being in the same room; "I was not informed in any way". It was clear that Boeing had not told Strom anything about the serious and dangerous nature of his continuous exposure to high levels of electromagnetic radiation. "They told me the work was per-

fectly safe". What is more, he was not told that Boeing were carrying out an on-going medical study of its EMP workers. After each routine health check, Strom was given a clean bill of health. It came as a shock to him when he was told in a physical that he had a chronic, rare and fatal type of myelogenous leukaemia (bone marrow cancer), with no apparent cure.

By chance Strom discovered that his was not the first suspicious case of cancer contracted whilst working on a Boeing EMP program. Via another Boeing employee he learned that in 1968 Boeing had started a top secret EMP project at an Air Force Minuteman missile site called Indian Six in Cascade, Montana. One of the 17 Boeing technicians at the site, Jim Dayton, developed skin cancer within 2 years of working there. Dayton worked within feet of an EMP array "pulsing 600,000 volts". He believes that the EMP pulser caused his cancer and the deaths of 3 of the 17 Boeing workforce, Russell Lawson, Roy Jager and Colonel Prince. Lawson contracted the same rare leukaemia as Strom. Dayton graphically described his death:

"Lawson... took about a year or so to die and he kept working doing it. And it was terrible to see every day. He just shrivelled away."

The Montana employees had blood tests once a month, but were not told the reason for this close interest in their health.

With this tip-off Strom became determined to discover why the company allowed

him to be exposed to lethal doses of EMP radiation. He asked Boeing medical staff if he had contracted what they were testing him for, "You have a valid reason for saying that" was the reply. Boeing were admitting that they knew that Strom's EMP exposure could cause cancer and that they were collecting data on the effects of his exposure without telling him. With this admission he filed a lawsuit against them. This forced Boeing to hand over documents about EMP research. The information they contained was astonishing. As far back as 1971 Boeing were aware that EMP was harmful and Boeing Medical staff wrote they were "... in a unique position to evaluate some aspects of the biological effects on man". Strom's lawyer asserts that these documents prove that Boeing was fully aware that EMP work would have severe health effects and that it was conducting an on-going programme to collect and analyse data on the effects of this exposure. Boeing however continued to deny that EMP posed a health risk.

An epidemiologist, Dr. Sam Milhan, found that 3 cases of leukaemia out of 360 EMP employees is 40-50 times expected rates and believes that Strom "... got his disease from that [EMP] exposure". When a report compiled for Boeing came to the same conclusion it had "Bad Report!" written across its cover, much to consternation of its compiler Dr. Ralph Coates.

During his CBS interview Strom described the human cost of this secret experimentation:

"And, as I sat in my dining room, working my way through this amount of information they had given me, I saw the truth revealed. I saw that we were actually used as human subjects. My wife sat in the kitchen, typing what I wrote as comments to the interrogatories, and I could listen to my wife crying as she typed what I had written. And I could hear her say, 'Damn them, damn them!' For we knew then what had really happened, what the company had really done."

Radiological Warfare: The Secret Human Experiments

In *Open Eye 2* we investigated the case of Mr. Verney who claimed that for a period of 6 months he was the victim of a secret microwave weapons testing project. It seemed incredible to suggest that the military were using a retired middle-class couple living in Kent as guinea pigs in testing the latest secret weaponry. Yet that very year, 1983, Boeing Corporation was experimenting on its own employees whilst working on a military contract.

Are there any precedents for this behaviour? In December 1993 the Clinton Administration released records that showed how military experiments had been conducted on at least 500,000 people mostly without their consent. The initial furore focused on Radiological Warfare (RW) experiments. However it came to light that the experiments covered a whole range of new weapons, from LSD to Mustard gas, although as yet nothing has been released about Frequency Weapons.

The Radiological Warfare experiments

were justified by talk of the need to investigate the effects of fallout from a Russia nuclear attack. A key figure, Dr. Joseph G. Hamilton, described the real applications of this experimental data: developing offensive weapons. "One of the principal strategic uses of fission products will probably be against the civilian population of large cities." Hamilton wrote that his idea of finding healthy human volunteers to inhale near-lethal doses of radioactive aerosols to assess the effectiveness of RW had "... a little of the Buchenwald touch".

The most culpable experiments were conducted on sections of the population most dependent upon the state for care and nurture. They fed radioactive milk to mentally handicapped children, exposed to radiation healthy males incarcerated in prisons, injected plutonium into the terminally ill, and fed radioactive pills to pregnant women who relied upon hospitals to deliver their children. If consent was asked for it was usually given as people dependent on the state are unlikely to want to be seen as making a fuss

by refusing.

Michigan Congressman John Conyers notes that "Radiation experiments are only part of the story", and warns that "The only way to make sure that this doesn't go on anymore is to expose every part of it." Other experiments that have been uncovered included the release of radioactive compounds in 239 cities as part of a biological warfare testing, and putting chemical warfare agents on the skins of 60,000 military personnel.

Many people died or were maimed by these experiments but compensation may be ruled out as it would create an "... enormous financial burden for the federal government". Some of these tests continued until 1973.

During the Cold War military necessity justified the most inhuman experiments. There are terrible costs for us if the military continue to see the population as expendable subjects for testing the latest weaponry on. These experiments are highly likely to have been duplicated in the UK.

Heretical Science

Alternative medicine, AIDS – and Duncan Campbell

In early 1994 *Open Eye* received a review copy of *Dirty Medicine – Science, Big Business and the Assault on Natural Healthcare*. Written by leftwing investigative writer Martin Walker, it set out to expose the tactics Walker believes are being used to discredit natural alternatives to drug-based medicine—it is a compelling read.

In February 1994 the book was publicly launched with a meeting at a Russell Square hotel. Outside—uninvited—stood the stony-faced and determined figure of Duncan Campbell, the renowned anti-establishment investigative journalist, with a team intent on getting photos of the participants as they arrived and departed.

This intrusive behaviour, which some of the audience found intimidating, was initially hard for us to comprehend. Over the following months, though, we found out that Duncan Campbell has for some time been a major media voice putting orthodox medicine's case against natural, or complementary, healthcare alternatives and their supporters. Believing it to be full of inaccuracies, he wanted to discredit Walker's book and make sure that as few people as possible read it.

During the months following the launch, Campbell wrote articles, his lawyers sent letters, apologies and retractions appeared in two publications which had printed praise for the book or criticisms of his actions; shops, distributors and its Finnish printer were pressured into dropping the book. As a result *Dirty Medicine* is now available only by mail from its publisher, Sling-shot Publications. In one part of his campaign against the book Campbell was given two pages of space—which he used to attack Walker and others—in a magazine supplement to the *Observer* called, ironically, 'Uncensored'. The *Observer* soon received some 200 letters, full of complaints about inaccuracies and distortions. After printing four of these letters prominently under the heading 'The Truth about Aids Censorship' the *Observer* was made to print an apology stating that "Duncan Campbell has a reputation as an upholder of free debate" and that they had no intention of suggesting that he "seeks to stifle open discussion with those who

take contrary views". The following Sunday, as part of the *Observer* retraction, a letter appeared from Campbell, stating that he had never tried to stop publication of *Dirty Medicine* or Jad Adams' book *AIDS – The HIV Myth* as had been alleged in one critical letter. Campbell has since told *Open Eye* that the *Observer* agreed to pay £8,000 in damages after printing the critical letters.

Not long after the book's launch Campbell sought out the editors of *Open Eye* at a conference on 'Aids and Nutrition' given by the British Nutrition Foundation—voice of the processed food manufacturers—at which he seemed to be an admired guest, despite not being a speaker himself. He made it clear that he had been making enquiries about us—commenting on the difficulty he had in uncovering some personal information—and wanted to advise us on our forthcoming article. Not unreasonably he was keen to make sure we understood his side. "Martin's working for the pharmaceutical industry and I'm not" he told us. Perhaps we were jumping

to the wrong conclusions, perhaps Campbell was right? Phone-calls followed and a meeting in a north London pub, putting *Open Eye* in a unique position to investigate the views of both sides.

The following account is more or less chronological—dealing first with our impressions of the book, then Campbell's success at suppressing it and our own look into the HealthWatch group—one of the subjects of *Dirty Medicine*. It finishes with Campbell's explanations for his actions and his further arguments against the book—produced in an effort to change our view. The result is an original insight into a vital debate.

Although this debate has been seen superficially by some as a personal row between two investigators and despite Campbell's suggestion to us that "it would be sensible in the interests of alternative medicine" if we dropped all mention of the book, it has become transparently clear that at the centre of this debate is a fundamental paradigm clash that should not continue to be swept under the carpet.

The big business assault on natural healthcare – as seen by Martin Walker

Walker has written a number of books, on subjects such as deaths in prison, police vig-



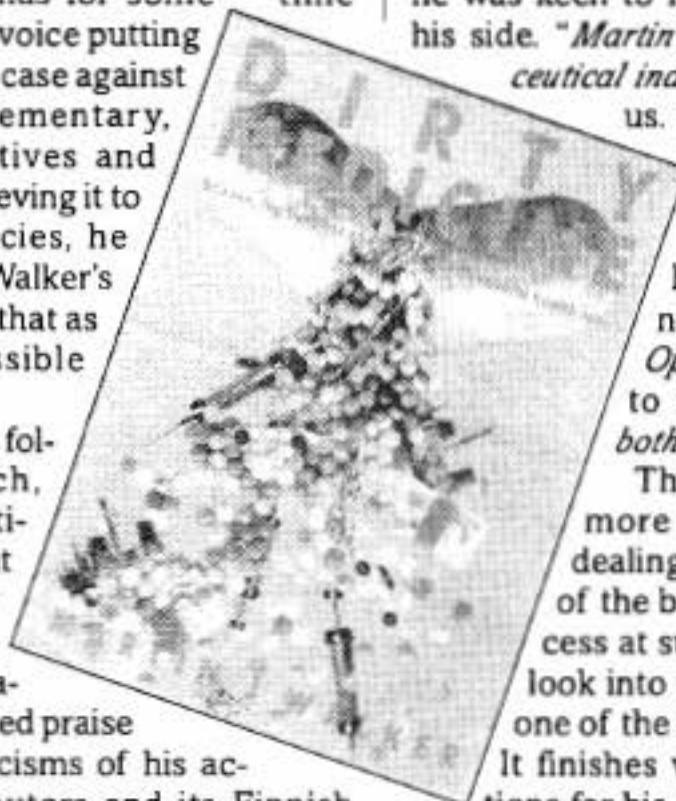
Martin Walker, the leftwing author of *Dirty Medicine*

ilantism and the policing of the miners' strike. He also gave his analysis of the Trafalgar Square 'police riot' on Channel 4's documentary about the 1990 Poll Tax demonstration. He is an avowed socialist (with green leanings) and, as expected, always writes from the point of view of the underdog. Even *Militant* gave his book an analytical and favourable review.

Dirty Medicine is long, fact-filled and very contentious—we will see precisely where Duncan Campbell disagrees with it later. It begins by tracing the rise of scientific medicine in the United States and the history of 'anti-quackery' campaigns against practitioners and promoters of alternatives to pharmaceutical medicine. Walker analyses the role of the Rockefeller empire in entrenching orthodox medicine and the rise of the 'medico-industrial complex'—a network of self-supporting vested interests which include processed food, agrochemical and pharmaceutical manufacturers.

Such groups, he believes, had a common interest and would often unite in campaigns and attacks against so-called 'health fraud' and 'quackery'. In the US these have recently ranged from state-supported armed raids on nutritionists to the less violent but equally devastating withdrawal of medical insurance to patients seeking 'unorthodox' treatments. The American Medical Association was itself found guilty of conspiring to destroy the profession of chiropractic in 1987. Advocacy of vitamins or organic food would be ridiculed as 'nutritional nonsense' and there were frequent charges of charlatanism.

Martin Walker sees the years 1985 and 1986 as marking the arrival in Britain of these campaigns in support of industrial food and pharmaceuticals. Early victims had no idea of the forces and opinions covertly ranged against them. In 1988 a prominent French biologist, Dr Jacques Benveniste, was shocked when his paper—published in *Nature* after five years of study and appearing to provide an explanation for homeopathy—ignited a crescendo of



damaging personal abuse. This turned to outrage when a follow-up investigation aiming at 'scientifically' discrediting his findings was carried out by a three-man team including the ex-magician and famous 'debunker' James 'the Amazing' Randi and an American 'quackbusting' journalist. Even his scientific paper had been printed only grudgingly in *Nature*, with the accompaniment of a controversial and unprecedented editorial which called his results into question.

A more recent paper published in *The Lancet* in December 1994 concludes that either "homoeopathy works, or the clinical trial does not". In spite of this positive finding the eight-strong team of British researchers chose to focus their concluding discussion on the historical reluctance of orthodox medicine to accept reports of successful homoeopathic treatment. This aversion was shown when "Over a century ago the UK General Board of Health omitted the success of homoeopathic treatments in the London cholera epidemic in their statistical return to Parliament" as such reports might promote a medical practice which is "opposed to the maintenance of truth and to the progress of science."

Clinical ecology, more recently termed environmental medicine, has been particularly hard hit. This is the discipline that, in Walker's eyes, makes most explicit the link between industry, pollution and ill health, diagnosing the medical consequences of the chemical recklessness described in books like Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring*. These new allergists and immunologists deal with the effects of ingested and inhaled substances on the human being and the resulting diseases: from migraine, eczema and alopecia through to arthritis and cancer. Clinical ecologists have highlighted such dangers as lead in petrol, passive smoking and, more recently, the danger of organophosphorous sheep dips, household fungicidal sprays and possible cancer-causing electrical fields.

Walker's own investigations began in earnest when a young mother came to him after her child's treatment at a specialist hospital was put in jeopardy by the withdrawal of medical cover by an insurance

French biologist Dr Jacques Benveniste warns of the new 'Ayatollahs of science'

company. The hospital in question, the Breakspear hospital, was a unique centre dealing with the diagnosis and treatment of chemical sensitivity and allergy. The hospital and its founder, Dr Jean Monro, had come in for heavy criticism in a TV program which staff had believed would be a balanced look at the subject of ME and allergy. Walker's investigation convinced him that Dr Monro had in fact been set up and systematically smeared in order to discredit her and the field she has helped pioneer. Her treatments were linked in the programme to a suicide and criticised for their cost which was portrayed as leading gullible patients into misery and near-destitution. Walker's book however points out that Dr Monro was doing ground-breaking research: suppression of T-cell function by patients exposed to damaging chemicals or viruses for instance—some years before AIDS would make the importance of the T-cell common knowledge.

Not far into his research Walker came across some of the 'quackbusting' articles written by Duncan Campbell for the *New Statesman*. He read hard-hitting articles with names like 'Pretty Poison', 'Positively Unhealthy' (an attack on the holistic AIDS group Positively Healthy and its co-founder Cass Mann) and 'Let them eat shit'. "I was rocked on my heels by their power", he writes, "and utterly convinced of their authority". What a stroke of luck, then, that he had been asked to look at the case of Dr Monro who, unlike all these cases of obvious quackery, had clearly been 'framed' without justification, Walker felt. At the centre of all the many quackbusting campaigns he began to look into, Walker found the members and influence of a group called HealthWatch (HW).



or 'The Campaign against Health Fraud' (CAHF) as it was called until 1991. Campbell had himself written that he "gladly joined" this new campaigning group when he heard about it, and "enthusiastically welcome the recent launch of CAHF". His articles often quoted its leading and most influential members, including Dr Vincent Marks and Professor John Garrow, giving seemingly unbiased scientific backing to his arguments. Quotes however usually avoid any mention of their membership of CAHF/HW.

As Walker found himself drawn into following up other 'victims' of HealthWatch, he found similar patterns of what he sees as unwarranted victimisation which appeared to have nothing to do with care, justice or the socialised medicine that he imagined he and Campbell, as socialists, believed in. "Over the next few months with a terrible hopelessness", he writes, "it began to dawn on me that everything which Campbell had written was oddly off-centre ..., and gravely biased."

HealthWatch - 'Enhancing informed choice through reliable information'

The first HealthWatch Steering Committee was assembled in 1988 by medical journalist Caroline Richmond and set itself the task of rooting out fraudulent and untested medicines and treatments. HealthWatch seemed

peculiarly at odds with public opinion evidenced by polls to be overwhelmingly in favour of increased access to the various 'alternative' and 'complementary' healthcare treatments.

Much of the organisation's energy has been spent arguing that food supplements are promoted as medicines and should therefore be treated in the same manner as their pricy pharmaceutical counterparts. Here lies a major problem. It can cost hundreds of millions of pounds to get a pharmaceutical drug tested, patented, and onto the market. Natural medicines, on the other hand,

FRAUD FILE

THE FUTURE of germanium still appeared to hang in the balance as this issue went to press with the Health Food Manufacturers Association insisting it expected to see the product vindicated despite a letter from the Department of Health's chief medical officer Sir Donald Acheson to all doctors on October 10 stating it had advised that sales of the product should cease.

We are running a test on a group of 250 patients who have been taking germanium for ME for three years and initial results suggest there is no toxic

Angered by our claim in the September issue that 'quackbusting' investigative journalist DUNCAN CAMPBELL is acting on behalf of the Campaign Against Health Fraud, the so-called 'Quackbusters', Mr Campbell asked for a right of reply. Because of the major impact his enquiries and reports are having on the natural medicines movement we have been happy to oblige. Here is his response.

'Caveat emptor is unacceptable in healthcare'

Why I am quackbusting

TWO MONTHS ago in a report about con-man Yves Delatte and his 'Delta Te' Aids hoax, JACM editor Richard Thomas implied that I was either a dupe or a pawn in the hands of the dreaded Campaign Against Health Fraud (CAHF). To read Richard on

ners alike. Where health is concerned, we're all too vulnerable to career- or commercially-motivated false claims, soothing voices, the reckless, the careless, the unscrupulous and the fraudulent.

Where the desperately ill are concerned — and that means



Duncan Campbell

unethical 25 per cent kickbacks still taken by many practitioners from many 'alternative' pharmaceutical companies.

know. So why are so many people reading JACM reputedly scared of CAHF — and me? Realising I wasn't at all hell-

Journal of Alternative and Complementary Medicine article (9/89). Stricter EC regulations mean "blood is going to flow" Campbell colourfully predicted

to CAHF and never was. I gladly joined CAHF when I heard about it in May — a long



Duncan Campbell and his team at the launch. A lookout relayed information back by mobile phone from in and around the hotel

are usually cheap, unpatentable and because they are often preventative—Walker argues—a threat to the basic principles of pharmaceuticals. The free market in this case is a luxury that the drug multinationals can't afford. It is, after all, according to the World Bank's figures, an annual \$220 billion market that is at stake here.

HealthWatch notably intervened when a number of trials and a QED programme found that multivitamin pills seemed to increase the IQ of schoolchildren. The vitamin-supplying company was vilified on another television programme—with the help of HealthWatch scientists—and was reported to authorities for allegedly making the false claim on their packaging that the claimed benefit would be universal. Company director, Dr Woodward, dismisses the criticism as absurd—the same strict interpretation of packaging would criminalise aspirin too which cannot claim to universally stop headaches. Even the prosecution in the case conceded that 1 million children could benefit, if not his estimate of 3 million, Dr Woodward told *Open Eye*.

IQ has, in fact, long been linked to dietary deficiencies in the Third World and, although HealthWatch marked their campaign and court case as a victory, the debate still rumbles on. Recently Professor Donald Naismith continued the arguments to discredit positive vitamin trial findings in a specialist academic journal. As a consultant to SNACMA (the Snack, Nut and Crisp Manufacturers' Association), Naismith can certainly claim to be an expert on the modern diet.

Campbell's own articles typically refer angrily to "vitamin pills, expensive quack remedies and worthless diet regimes, which are dangerous to ... health" (*New Statesman* 29/9/89). Campbell's view is undoubtedly sincere and there is no evidence that he is fi-

nancially rewarded by drugs companies for his articles. Campbell has tended to focus his exposés on what he sees as a "damaging campaign against orthodox treatments for Aids", in particular "the effective anti-AIDS drug AZT" (*Capital Gay*, 13/10/89). Such exposés often quote HealthWatch members for off-the-cuff comments on the alternative approaches: "It is pseudo-science and scare-mongering nonsense which does more harm than good" (*New Statesman* 29/9/89), Dr David Pearson opines in one article. Chairman of HealthWatch, Professor Vincent Marks, is always good for scientific backup too with pithy erudite quotes like: "quackery", "Charlatanism", "gobbledegook" (*New Statesman* 29/9/89). When it comes to treating those with AIDS Campbell appears to

NEWS FEATURE

Shark con "professor" exposed

by DUNCAN CAMPBELL

A recent less controversial quackbusting article about a cancer treatment using shark cartilage

see the situation in black and white terms, terms which are usually similar to those of the medical establishment: "AZT, [is] the most efficacious treatment yet discovered" and far better than "expensive, but worthless, vitamin pills and supplements".

Pressure from HealthWatch has certainly brought results. The natural tranquillizer L-tryptophan was hastily banned although *Newsweek* would report that some researchers felt that the danger came only from one specific contaminated batch. As it turned out Eli-Lilly's highly profitable mind-altering chemical tranquillizer Prozac was soon to arrive on the scene.

According to Walker, another natural substance, organic germanium, was banned within a month of Campbell's article "Pretty Poison" even though the poisoning scare which preceded the ban was, he says, for another type of germanium completely—a different substance. Warehoused copies of a book about its potential uses, which speculated about a possible role as an anti-HIV

agent, were pulped. The herb comfrey too was banned after a mere three adverse reactions worldwide, according to the 'Society for the Promotion of Nutritional Therapy', and even those apparently idiosyncratic. The Society has received no reports of toxicity from its survey among heavy long-term users.

Despite claims of evenhandedness, a flick through recent copies of the HealthWatch newsletter reveals that they are animated almost entirely by unorthodox medicine. The titles of longer items in recent issues include: "Serious disease claims made for food supplements"; "Surges in herbal sales will falter"; "Homoeopathic sales can continue without proof of efficacy"; "Critics challenge Boots herb move" and "Chestnut seeds in HIV marketing fear".

Allergies are another concern of HealthWatch. Two of the founding members contributed to a Royal College of Physicians report in 1992 which described as 'alternative' the suggestions that asthma, migraine, rheumatoid arthritis and eczema can be promoted by sensitivities to food and additives. Many doctors are however using precisely these concepts in their practices, thus avoiding life-long use of palliative medication. The report stated that those who go to allergy specialists may actually need psychiatric treatment and that any benefit from allergy therapy was probably a placebo effect.

What HealthWatch doesn't tell us

Presented with so many 'facts' about obsessive diets and useless and/or dangerous food supplements, it is easy to lose sight completely of the ongoing scientific debate about nutrition and the fundamental shift in the way that the medical world views vitamins. An eight-page report on the 'Vitamin Revolution' in *Newsweek* in June 1993 gave a reasonably balanced view: "if even half of today's promising leads pan out, they could change our whole approach to nutrition".

A nutritionist from Tuft's University made clear that "there's very solid data to suggest that nutrients can promote optimal health and prevent chronic disease", pointing out also that "this is a new paradigm." Another view HealthWatch would find hard to swallow came from 'consumer advocate' Alexander Schauss: "there just is virtually no risk associated with dietary supplements. We might as well take aspirin off the market because people die of aspirin overdoses." Support for this view comes from orthodox British nutritionist Dr Tom Sanders, of Kings College, who wrote in the *Sunday Mirror* in January 1994: "We now know that even people with a 'healthy' diet can benefit from taking supplements".

An *Observer* article in April 1994 reported a recent research finding that women can significantly increase their chances of recovery from breast cancer by changing their diet. Marked improvements in health were found in women who took dietary supplements rich in vitamins and minerals: antioxidant vitamins C, E, and beta-carotene, selenium, fatty acids as found in fish oils and another substance known as vitamin Q. The selection of dietary supplements was made after an analysis of all the available scientific and medical literature on the anti-cancer

Vitamin diet lifts breast cancer hope

Paul Clayton and Judy Jones

WOMEN with breast cancer may significantly improve their chances of recovery by taking vitamins and minerals.

said they had felt much better since taking on the diet. In addition to receiving either radiotherapy, chemotherapy, or surgery — or a combination of the three — the women also

Antioxidants role in reducing cancer risk

100 best vitamins and minerals for health

Vitamins: 'Quack cure' ... new hope or ...?

effects of vitamins and minerals. Researcher Dr Knud Lockwood, who has treated 200 cases of breast cancer annually for the last 35 years, said: "I have never before seen a spontaneous regression of the type of breast tumours that we were treating in this trial, or comparable regression on any conventional anti-cancer therapy". The *New Scientist* in July 1994 reported studies showing that soya bean products "could be as effective as tamoxifen in preventing breast cancer" and would prevent the increased risk of other cancers that is linked to tamoxifen use. Around 14,000 women die of breast cancer in the UK per year. Similar nutrient-based approaches are increasingly being studied as therapies for AIDS.

According to the World Cancer Research Fund charity there is "wide agreement ... in the research community that approximately 35% of all cancer deaths are related to dietary factors. Yet we see relatively little work in this area". This inertia is all the more disturbing in the light of a recent report in *Scientific American* which sums up the lack of success with the conventional approaches: "there has been little to show for the \$25 billion spent on the war on cancer." "Critics accuse it [the National Cancer Institute] of having neglected research aimed at prevention in favour of the search for cures", according to the report. Critics say there has so far just been tinkering when the real solution—prevention—"is going to involve everybody over their whole lives." "It's going to involve cleaning up the workplace and the environment, it's going to involve changing our diets ...".

Seventy-two experts wrote a letter to the National Cancer Institute in 1993 accusing the 'Cancer Establishment' of having "continually minimised the evidence for increasing cancer rates, which it has largely attributed to smoking and dietary fat, while discounting or ignoring the causal role of avoidable exposures to industrial carcinogens in the air, food, water and the workplace." It goes on to state that—with a course of treatment for leukaemia costing \$100,000 or more—prevention must be the way forward in saving lives.

HealthWatch's own rather more complacent and orthodox view on cancer mortality can be found in one of its 'position papers': "More people get cancer now than did in the last century ... because more live to an age

when cancer becomes common". And apart from smokers "the chance of getting cancer ... is less than it was a hundred years ago. Cancer of the stomach, for example, occurs much less often than it used to. Nobody knows why. And when children get cancer they are now far more often cured."

HealthWatch do though tell us that "prevention is always better than cure" and make some suggestions. Along with the obvious danger of smoking, "too much exposure to the sun makes skin cancer more likely. And certain diets probably lessen the chances of getting certain kinds of cancer. But the evidence is not as clear cut as it is with cigarettes." Arguably, it is exactly the research and treatments that are frowned upon by HealthWatch which look most promising and in need of urgent investigation.

Perhaps it is understandable that such 'new paradigm' ideas are not mentioned in the HealthWatch newsletter but there are a number of more traditional areas of public concern that likewise receive little mention: unnecessary deaths, drug side-effects, drug company slush funds, bribes, and medical misdiagnoses that seem to be the almost daily fare of conventional medicine. Indeed medically-induced (iatrogenic) disease is often put at around 15% or more of all disease. Oprah Winfrey devoted a recent show to the 125,000 US citizens who apparently die each year from "adverse reaction to prescription drugs". (Channel 4 confirmed this shocking figure which we thought might have been misreported). A Harvard study came up with an even higher figure, a gruesome 150,000 deaths through neglect. If there are similar reports in Britain, HealthWatch has done nothing to draw attention to them.

The HealthWatch rationale

The recurring theme in HealthWatch-inspired material is that "just because it's natural doesn't mean it's safe". A HealthWatch-assisted BBC 'Watchdog Special' on the healthfood industry broadcast in 1992 began by showing an assassination, based on that of Gyorgi Markov, using a poison-tipped umbrella—the toxin, of course, was 'natural'. The programme went on to make natural products such as herbs and vitamins seem dangerous, and to discourage their use. Although the BBC deny that they used HealthWatch as consultants for the programme one of their most vigorous proponents, Professor John Garrow, appeared on it five times and has himself written that he was asked to contribute in his capacity as Chairman of HealthWatch. Coincidentally, the programme was produced by Sarah Caplin, wife of HealthWatch President and radio and television journalist Nick Ross, well known as the frontman for 'Crimewatch'.

Although Duncan Campbell no longer professes to be a supporter and has denied past membership of HealthWatch—it is, he says, too easy a target for 'conspiracy theorists'—this did not stop him from quoting Professor Garrow in a batch of 'quackbust-

ing' articles as late as 1994. As usual no mention is made of a possible conflict of interest arising from the fact that Garrow is Secretary of HealthWatch. To the uninformed reader he is simply Professor of Human Nutrition at St Bartholomew's Hospital, presenting his unbiased expert opinion that yet another unorthodox treatment "cannot conceivably be scientifically sound or reasonable" and is "absurd and fraudulent." (*The Independent* 8/2/94).

Although 'quackbusting' campaigners claim science is on their side, they have garnered much of their success through the use of 'bogus' patients. The modus operandi has been to send a pseudo-patient who will present a false case history to an unsuspecting doctor—in the hope of receiving an incriminating or erroneous diagnosis. The later use of trial by media, with a heavy dose of innuendo, may be enough to finish off a career even with no law or regulation infringed. What is reprehensible about this journalistic method is that when the 'evidence' is presented, we have no record of any conversations which might have taken place between the 'patient' and the practitioner. The practitioner could have been told anything.

Some HealthWatch members are not convinced of the usefulness of a 'non-scientific', human-interest approach to health. Professor Garrow is quoted in a recent newsletter as saying: "I'm worried about quoting the odd 'weirdo' who dropped dead". Media-aware Nick Ross put the other side: "anecdote is the mainstay of journalism: it is human nature to empathise with stories about individuals while remaining unperturbed by statistics, whatever their implications."

The HealthWatch newsletter gets tied up in some embarrassing knots when it tries to juggle the group's subjective dislike of the alternative therapies with its professed desire to be objective. These contradictions were obvious in the HealthWatch response after the Labour Party's Dawn Primarolo issued a report concluding that complementary therapies are "cost-effective, saving money by avoiding costly drug treatment and surgery" and that "the medical efficacy of the most popular and well established therapies is well accepted". Dismissing Labour's "surprisingly uncritical acceptance", HealthWatch asks for "a free choice based on as much reliable information as possible". However, in the real world, they add, "unconventional medicine often costs time and money that could be better spent on other needs". Conversely they also state that complementary medicine "may save money": "many healers and practitioners of fringe medicine want only to help the patient at a reasonable charge—or even none." Yet they have also said—contradicting themselves again—that "the extra cost to the NHS could be a serious burden." In spite of their much-voiced 'safety' fears about alternatives HealthWatch conclude that such therapies "seem to rely mainly on their ability to soothe and relax, or on their placebo effect, the danger of physical harm is small." Their motto of 'free choice based on reliable in-



HealthWatch

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formation' rings hollow given their overall conclusion: "We fear that for the NHS at this time to expand its use of untested remedies ... could divert money, time and resources from where they will do most good." Before the door to complementary medicine is even opened it is slammed firmly shut.

Other HealthWatch members are against any sort of compromise with the unorthodox. Petr Skrabanek was given a quarter of an issue to lay out his far-fetched claim that unwittingly "HealthWatch could help alternative practitioners subvert medicine." How could HealthWatch members believe, he wondered, that "promoting testing of these methods would get us anywhere". "I believe", he wrote, "that HealthWatch should drop the pretence of being able to 'test' meaningfully preposterous claims. Let us not be accessories to the perfidious plan of the alternativists to infiltrate medicine and subvert it from within." Like the Church fathers refusing to look through Galileo's telescope, he has no need to look at experiments; he simply knows they must be wrong.

A recent HealthWatch article describes the "alarming growth in anti-science views and attitudes in both Russia and Germany". Clearly civilisation is threatened by the German teachers who are apparently especially prone to joining specific trends "AGAINST biotechnology, AGAINST nuclear power, AGAINST genetic engineering ... while on the other hand overemphasizing environmental issues without sufficient reflection or differentiation." We're told that some German biotechnology companies have even been driven to locate new facilities in other countries where there is greater public support.

HealthWatch members in general see themselves as crusading for rationalism. Walker's book clearly and in great detail links HealthWatch to the British and American organisations which promote the cause of science and rationality. We fear, writes HealthWatch, "that much of the booming 'alternative' health industry actually represents in some ways a somewhat unhealthy, backward step in public attitudes—away from reason and the logical, painstaking collection of reliable evidence and back to the realms of blind faith and superstition." Regardless of any element of truth in this claim, HealthWatch certainly do not seem to be taking many steps forward.

Instead, Campbell—in his "Uncensored" Observer article—is embattled in what he calls a "religious struggle" against the 'cultists' and 'zealots' of nutritional medicine, clinical ecology and suchlike who promote their "new mythologies which pretend to be sciences" that "the public knows ... as 'alternative medicine'". "They do not carry weapons like the Ayatollah's warriors", he writes, "but they are just as hard to guard against." He includes a quote from a friend—and member of the British Nutrition Foundation—who believes the intentions of organic food-proponent and anti-AZT activist Cass Mann are "quite evil". Campbell grimly warns us that "Faith doesn't move mountains, but it can lead the faithful to an early death—as at Jonestown and Waco". Full sci-

entific discussion of the merits and flaws in alternative therapies is absent; this is not the place to look for mentions of relevant scientific papers.

Who funds HealthWatch?

Members of HealthWatch are aware—and dismissive—of critics who hint 'darkly' that the organisation is not "truly independent but a mere front for the pharmaceutical industry, and our criticism of untested 'alternative' treatments is prompted by desire to promote the sale of prescription-only drugs." (HealthWatch Newsletter, Autumn 1993).

The Wellcome Foundation	£1000
Astra Pharmaceuticals Ltd	£ 250
Pfizer Ltd	£ 500
Private Patients Plan	£2000

Records show donations from drug companies including Wellcome, Pfizer and Astra Pharmaceuticals

Their January 1994 publicity sheet asks "Is HealthWatch a front for the drug companies?" The answer: "Definitely not. We are completely independent of the pharmaceutical industry ...". End of story? The sting in the tail follows underneath: "On the other hand, we do need money to carry on our activities. We are prepared to accept donations from (sic) the Pharmaceutical Industry but to preserve our independence, we have resolved as a mat-

Brave, bold - buy it

Dirty Medicine by Martin J Walker (Slingshot, £15). ISBN 0 951 9646 0 7.

However it is a book not to be missed by all involved in alternative and complementary medicine and the layman alike. I guarantee you will not be able to put it down - every page brings a new revelation.

Europe from their early beginnings to the present day. Walker confirms the fears of those involved in natural medicine that the campaigns have been coordinated by big business interests.

Extracts from JACM's review of Dirty Medicine which it agreed to withdraw

ter of policy that not more than 25% of our income in any year may come from any one company." Nick Ross supported this decision, stating, according to the minutes, that "the pharmaceutical and food industries had the greatest interest in the survival of CAHF and could be persuaded to contribute more easily than other organisations."

A quick check at the Charities Commission revealed only one period in which individual donations to HealthWatch were disclosed (10th July 1990 to end of May 1991—SEE BOX—). The largest donation, from Private Patients Plan, amounts to nearly 34% of their income for the period—even though they had decided upon a 25% limit from any single 'interested party'. Interestingly, Private Patients Plan is one of the medical insurance companies whose withdrawal of recognition for doctors almost closed the Breakspear allergy Hospital. AZT-manufacturer Wellcome donated 17% of the income. The total of donations is much reduced in the following year though the other major source of income, "subscriptions", suspiciously almost trebles, rising from £822 to £2212, despite the small number of members. In 1993 HealthWatch had a mere 141 members.

According to Professor Garrow, "HealthWatch's finances make a mockery of accusations that it is in the pay of the drug industry." However, Walker argues, even if there were not a penny in donations to HealthWatch the background of the members gives a clear indication of where their priorities will lie.

Caroline Richmond was, according to Walker, grant-aided by Wellcome and had an office and research position at the Wellcome Institute when she called the first HealthWatch meeting. At this time she also had shares in Wellcome and it was the Wellcome Institute address which she gave in her first Campaign Against Health Fraud leaflet. Leading member Vincent Marks received a good practice award from Wellcome and his Biochemistry Department at Surrey University received half a million pounds from Wellcome between 1985 and 1990. Professor Garrow sends out his HealthWatch correspondence from the Rank

(formerly Rank, Hovis, McDougall) Department of Human Nutrition at London University and has, in Martin Walker's view, "committed his life to the processed food industry." He allows HealthWatch free use of rooms for committee meetings. At other times the meetings have been held at the Ciba Foundation, the academic front of the Ciba-Geigy drug company.

Campbell reassured the AIDS group ACT-UP with his view of the funding question in a 1990 letter: "I am not in the Campaign Against Health Fraud ... I have looked into its origin and funding. It has no links whatsoever with any part of Wellcome." Recent letters from Duncan Campbell—including one received at Open Eye—reiterated his version: "Wellcome plc has no connection with me or anyone whom Walker sets out to abuse."

A further pointer to the HealthWatch outlook is that many of the most prominent HealthWatch names crop up again as active members of the British Nutrition Foundation (BNF)—the food and sugar industry funded body so excellently analysed in Geoffrey Cannon's *The Politics of Food*. A recent BNF Director-General, Dr Derek Shrimpton, found that his work there was concerned "solely ... with defensive actions for the industry." "There was," he said, "very little concern expressed about the health of the British public and whether they might in fact be dying from food-related diseases". A shudder of fear went through the BNF when a government report on dietary goals looked as if it could result in proposals which might be catastrophic for certain sections of the industry. Dr Shrimpton sat on this food report committee knowing his goal was to kill it otherwise it would be troublesome. He resigned from the BNF completely disillusioned. Vincent Marks, when not on HealthWatch business, has often taken the platform for the Sugar Industry. At one conference he attacked so-called 'food leninists' and claimed that "there is no direct evidence that any food contributes to, let alone causes, any serious disease or death." Media Doctor, and HealthWatch member, James LeFanu agrees: "food is simply not an important or modifiable cause of disease in our society". With his book *Eat Your Heart Out - The Fal-*



Martin Walker, private detective turned author who looked out when spotted at the launch meeting. Philip Barker, a trust man for a doctor who sold placebo AIDS cures, he who attended the meeting. Mrs. Barker, her company was forced to selling 'IQ' pills which were supposed to make children brighter. Elizabeth Marsh, attended the launch, Barker was wearing after the meeting in hallway.

Dirty tricksters

Quack doctors and businessmen were amongst those who met in a London hotel to plan a concerted campaign against their critics. Duncan Campbell reports.

lacy of the Healthy Diet, Dr LeFanu aimed to expose the "misuse of science" to cajole "people into making major changes in their lives" by promoting the 'diet-disease thesis'.

It was at a BNF conference on 'Aids and Nutrition' where Campbell first sought out the *Open Eye* editors to give his version of the events contained in *Dirty Medicine*. He seemed well-known to the organisers and his 'quackbusting' work was praised by one of the three speakers. After speaking to us he left to socialise with another speaker, Dr Carolyn Summerbell, who had supplied him with the quote about the "evil" intentions of gay activist Cass Mann and his 'cult' for Campbell's *Observer* 'Uncensored' article. The BNF conference itself was chaired by long-time HealthWatch member Ursula Arens.

Free Debate vs. Censorship

Campbell's counterattack against Walker and his book has been significantly better covered in the press than the book itself. This began with a full page polemic about the book launch—"a secret meeting between Walker and some of his business backers"—under the title "Dirty Tricksters" in the London listings magazine *Time Out* (23/2/94). The article included photographs intrusively taken outside the launch hotel.

Here, Campbell laid out his view—diametrically at odds with Walker's. It is Walker and "not those whom he attacks, [who] have been supported and funded by medical big business interests." Far from being a campaigning socialist taking on the drug companies, Martin Walker is a private detective turned author who, with quack doctors, pharmaceutical salesmen and businessmen, has been planning a concerted campaign against their critics. The book and its research, Campbell added, must have cost around £40,000: a sum well beyond the means of Martin Walker, who lives in a council flat. Campbell detailed his East London address.

Who are these behind-the-scenes business interests? Campbell suggests pharmaceutical giant Hoffman La Roche, the world's biggest manufacturer of Vitamin C, and Dr Jean Monro who "had been infuriated that her lucrative income from private health insurance companies had been cut off". According to Campbell, she hired Walker to investigate the "professional work, sex lives, legal problems and drinking habits" of doctors and journalists who criticised her. He accused Walker of intimidation and of assaulting a *Time Out* photographer (working

Two opposing views of Walker and his book (▲ *Time Out* ► the *Evening Standard*)

with Campbell) who tried to photograph him. Campbell also linked Walker to the militant anti-AZT group 'Gays Against Genocide' which has now wound up after protest-related imprisonments. Also mentioned was the 'pharmaceutical supplements company' Larkhall who sold the IQ vitamin pills about which there was much furore. "Truckloads" of letters of complaint about the article poured in, according to *Time Out*.

Dirty Medicine did get a good review in London's *Evening Standard*, and the little-known Journal of Alternative and Complementary Medicine (JACM) called it "a brave book, written by a bold writer who has dug deep to find the hard evidence... Walker confirms the fears of those involved in natural med-

"I had made programmes on the Mafia and on Central American despots. I'm used to abusive mail — but never anything like this."

Campbell's 'Uncensored' article quotes a BBC producer's view of the 'vindictive' supporters of alternative cancer treatments

icine that the campaigns have been co-ordinated by big business interests" it went on, with "reputations tarnished, businesses ruined, imprisonment—all because they dared question the monolith of orthodox medicine." The review urged readers to buy the book and gave details of how it could be ordered through the Journal.

Although no mention was made of Campbell in this review, a letter from his solicitors soon arrived and by April 1994 he had secured an apology, along with a chance to state his view in a long letter. Campbell, the journal's editor said, was "widely respected" and any implied criticism of his work was unreservedly withdrawn. JACM withdrew their distribution of *Dirty Medicine*, a sensible move after lawyer's advice that they might have to prove in court that every word

The man who's taking on the drug companies

The big pharmaceutical businesses don't always cure the sick, they just get them hooked on expensive drugs, claims a new book. LIZ HODGKINSON meets its author



Martin Walker with his book, "Trick's choice is being misled by powerful medical interests."

Martin Walker has always been known as a private detective. He has written several books, including *Trick's Choice*, which is a polemic about the pharmaceutical industry. He is a man who has been described as a "quackbuster".

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THE OBSERVER

Truth about Aids censorship

SIR - Getting Duncan Campbell to write on censorship (Uncensored, 17 April)

HIV theory of Aids, should

Martin Walker,
London WC1.

Positive and public debate

annual conference was attended by 116 people and reported in newspapers.

freedom of information around HIV/Aids health care options, publishing several

Charity Commission (in its report published on 6 January).

I must point out that the therapies this centre advocates are not 'alternative' but complementary to traditional medical practice. In my

Health and safety

In the battle between faith and science, censorship has found a new and dangerous disguise, warns Duncan Campbell

Campbell's controversial article (above) brought around 200 critical letters. The Observer apologised to Campbell after printing four of them (left, 1/5/94), which we have had to censor

pared the "vindictive" and "abusive" behaviour of the few who dared support the Centre in the face of the media's onslaught with that of supporters of the Mafia and "central American despots." Not surprisingly letters arrived at the *Observer* from the Bristol Help Centre's supporters. One was from Dr R H Nicholson, editor of the *Bulletin of Medical Ethics*, criticising Campbell's assertion as a "vile untruth". He added that Campbell's "mistakes, half-truths and innuendoes" would give "great comfort to the supporters of censorship". Although Dr Nicholson's letter was the only response to be published in the following Sunday's *Observer*, Campbell told *Open Eye* he had not seen this particular letter and had never heard of its author, though he showed no surprise on hearing of it and did not even ask for a copy which is puzzling as he sprang into action following the four critical letters printed in the next week's paper.

It is still open to question whether the damaging report on the Bristol Centre was not merely flawed but purposefully fraudulent and designed to close the pioneering Centre down—the original raw data has not been made available and the senior researcher has refused to talk about it for over two years. Perhaps the Bristol women actually did better than their controls?

Much of the rest of the *Observer* article elaborated Campbell's notion that critics of alternative practices—of which he is the best known example—were being "silenced" by "organised quackery": "critics of AIDS misinformation are terrified to speak out" by a "reign of terror". In spite of this complaint, Campbell's articles have appeared prominently in the *Independent*, the *Observer*, *Time Out*, the *New Statesman* and *Capital Gay* as well as elsewhere. His television company, IPTV, has also made a 'quackbusting' documentary for Channel 4.

In contrast, those whom Campbell considers his critics, Walker and Mann for example, go essentially unreported in the media. Only the recently wound-up Gays Against Genocide (GAG) could be conceived as threatening Campbell and his supporters as he claims; they flyposted a few crude and nasty posters which advertised death threats against people who, in their eyes, were killing gay men by promoting AZT. Campbell makes much of this and also sinisterly mentions a model guillotine they sent through the post. According to GAG, its recipient—Nick Partridge of the Terrence Higgins Trust—is fully aware that it is in fact "a novelty penis-chopping gimmick from an Amsterdam porn shop" and not a sinister threat.

However, it is certainly true that a lot of people involved with alternative health are frightened by Duncan Campbell, who was himself moved to write in 1989: "...why are so many people reading JACM [the *Journal of Alternative and Complementary Medicine*] reputedly scared of CAHF [the *Campaign Against Health Fraud*]—and me?"

The week after Dr Nicholson's letter appeared in the *Observer*, Martin Walker—for once—was given the right to reply: "getting Duncan Campbell to write on censorship was ***** [we have been advised to censor this quote—Open Eye editors] *****". He listed some of Campbell's allegedly 'censorious' actions, against the *Pink Paper*, Jad Adams' book *AIDS - the HIV Myth* and a BBC drama about a newspaper reporter whose central character resembled himself and, of course, against *Dirty Medicine*.

The *National Aids Manual (NAM)*, bastion of the AIDS establishment, also wrote a letter, which wasn't published, to complain that they were very unhappy about being enlisted by Campbell as part of his grouping of "rationalists" engaged in a religious war with "cultists". They did not support that sort of polarisation. Campbell also seemed to imply that *NAM* writers would not be attending the BNF 'AIDS and Nutrition' conference as they wanted to "keep their heads down" in the face, presumably, of the "reign of terror" he described. No mention was made of a far more likely reason: they did not want to be pulled by Campbell into his 'quackbusting' attacks on alternative treatments for AIDS.

As mentioned in the introduction, legal moves followed the *Observer* letters—inexplicably excluding Dr Nicholson's one about Campbell's "vile untruth"—with Campbell being given an apology and, a week later, space for a reply and an award of £8,000 in damages secretly made by the *Observer*. The Press Complaints Commission decided that the article did not raise any breaches of their code so there would be no need of a ruling on it.

Campbell and the changing world of AIDS

For someone who now has a reputation as a proponent of AZT and vehement critic of alternative treatments for AIDS it will seem inconceivable that Campbell could have started off as an 'Aids dissident'.

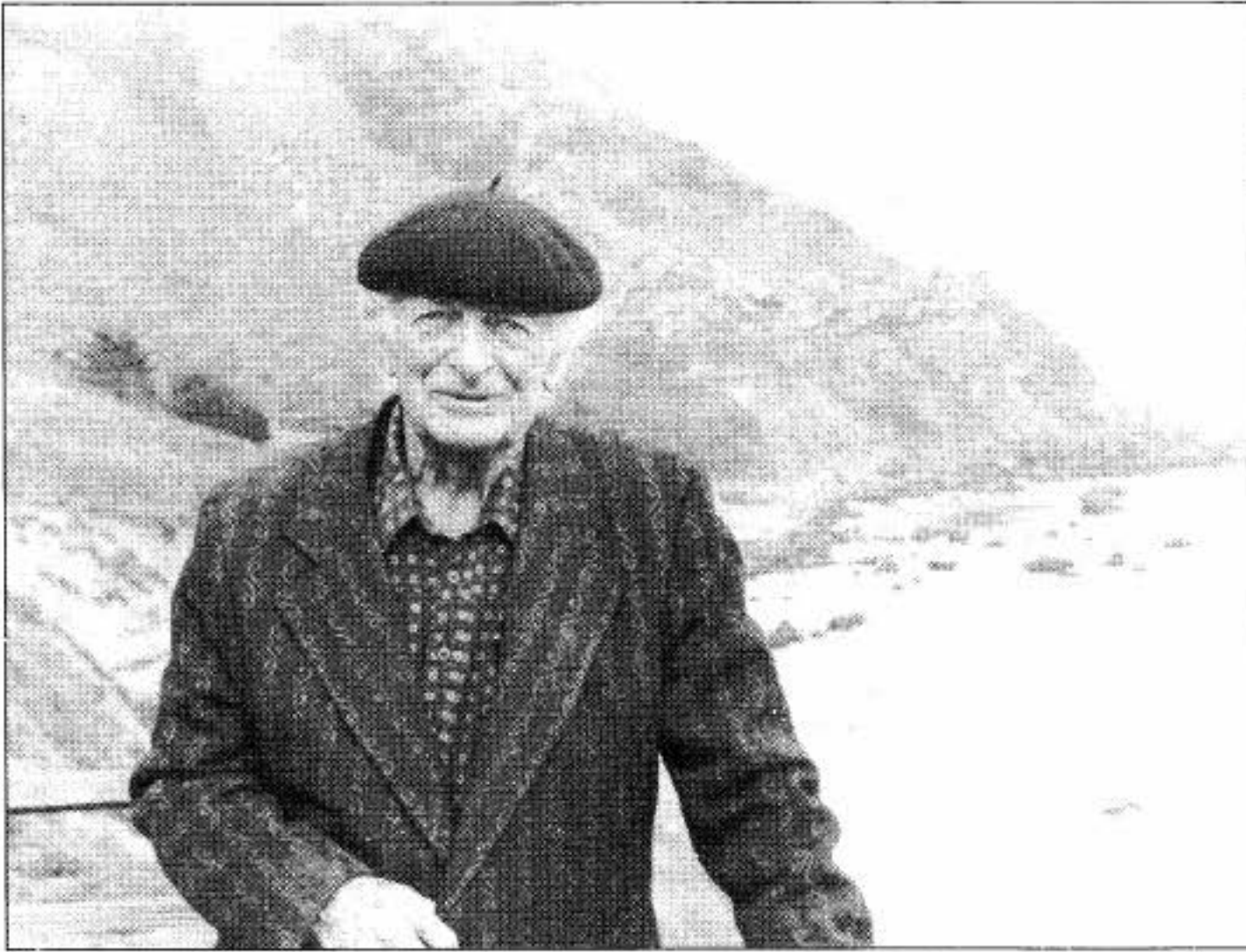
His first major AIDS article however, a cover story in the *New Statesman* called "The Aids Scam", railed against big drugs companies "moving in for a killing". It supported 'alternative' treatments like AL 721, which couldn't be obtained because of com-

mercial interests, and the need to make 'workalike' substances "at kitchen sinks and in labs": exactly the kind of activity which he would later vehemently criticise. AIDS and HIV are, said Campbell, "the greatest new pharmaceutical market in history". He warns that the "commercial importance of developing a new, and therefore patentable, drug which provides exclusive profits, means that existing drugs and therapies which show potential for treating Aids aren't being researched". Those who, like Walker, still pursue these themes Campbell now denounces as conspiracists. By the time he wrote a later article, "Taking on the Quacks", he was coming to the defence of doctors who criticised AL 721 and boasting that he had had three doctors struck off as a result of his work. Walker describes many instances in which prominent AZT-linked doctors, sometimes with the help of Campbell, appeared to work to prevent trials of potential alternative treatments for AIDS.

A constant theme in Campbell's AIDS articles has been that AIDS dissidents like Cass Mann are scaring people away from "the effective anti-Aids drug AZT" (*Capital Gay* 13/10/89). Of course AZT is in reality not an effective treatment for AIDS and, as Walker makes clear, has never cured anyone. In his articles Campbell played up the view of researchers involved in the Medical Research Council-funded Anglo-French 'Concorde' trial of AZT given to HIV antibody positive, but asymptomatic subjects, that a 50% increase in survival times could be expected. In reality no benefits were found from early AZT use in asymptomatics—indeed in 1993 the *New Scientist* reported that 8% of those given immediate AZT died as compared with 7% who were given it later on during the course of the disease. This result was virtually ignored in the press when the full results were published more recently.

Another revision of the AIDS orthodoxy concerns the emerging role of co-factors in the development of AIDS—long dismissed by Campbell and many experts. With their early interest in such areas, the group Positively Healthy now seems in fact to have been quite far-sighted. One linked concern of the group, for some years, has been the prevailing medical model of counselling for AIDS sufferers, one based upon the acceptance of impending death. This, they argue, is wrong and 'denial' is a far better state of mind to be in. Almost all AIDS counsellors, they believe, are trained to get people 'out of denial'. Is this a model with directly immune-suppressing effects, they ask?

One good example of the approach they



Double Nobel prizewinner Dr Linus Pauling was derided for advocating the importance of vitamin C. His work is being increasingly vindicated by the latest research into the significant role of anti-oxidant vitamins

criticise is the Health Education Council's poster put out a few years ago which read: "What's the difference between HIV and AIDS?". "Time" was the answer at the bottom of the poster. From Positively Healthy's point of view this message is deadly. They quote the discoverer of HIV, Dr Luc Montagnier, in their support: "Aids does not inevitably lead to death, especially if you suppress the co-factors that support the disease. It's very important to tell this to people who are infected with HIV. Psychological factors are critical in supporting immune function. If you suppress this psychological support by telling someone they are condemned to die, your words alone will have condemned them." Some studies of long-term AIDS survivors have shown that it is the psychological factors such as a "sense of purpose", a "feeling of influence over one's own health outcomes" and "development of a personal health program" which stand out.

When asked whether Positively Healthy's co-founder Cass Mann is really the criminal and questionable figure that Duncan Campbell would have us believe, Edward King—editor of the respected *National Aids Manual*—told *Open Eye*: "In my view no, in my view not at all". King, like others, does not like Campbell's "blunderbuss, blanket dismissal" of alternatives: "We don't think that Campbell's approach is at all helpful ... we think it's actually counterproductive and probably against the interests of people with HIV."

The NAM works quite closely with Positively Healthy and thinks that it is "a useful organisation which has got something to say. We don't think", they add, that "they are a dangerous organisation of fraudsters and quacks who should be avoided." Have they scared people away from AZT as Campbell charges? "I don't know whether they are doing anything as strong as that, driving people away from AZT. I think what they have done is that they have focused on the unanswered questions about AZT use and they've focused

on the lack of evidence, for example, for early intervention." King, like members of Positively Healthy, believes that the best approach is for people with HIV to receive as much information as possible and to be allowed to make up their own minds. Others are now keen to claim a similar sceptical outlook to Positively Healthy's: respected AIDS activist Simon Watney wrote in an 'open letter' to GAG that "I alone opposed the original Concorde protocols, and alone opposed the appalling exaggeration of potential benefits from AZT by Campbell, ... et al" (*Capital Gay* 13/5/94).

In further bad news for the manufacturers of AZT, a former school deputy head, Sue Threackall, is taking Wellcome to court in Britain for killing her HIV-positive but healthy and asymptomatic husband. When he started taking AZT her husband had a CD4 cell count of 600—this soon fell to 60. He died 18 months later in February 1993, still not diagnosed as suffering full-blown AIDS. Mrs Threackall says: "Bob was a healthy man when he was first put on AZT. Correspondence at the time shows that he was only put on it by the doctors because of claims by Wellcome that it would delay the onset of AIDS". Her solicitor Graham Ross will argue that it is a 'defective' product in that "it causes damage but does not cause benefit for asymptomatic people". As one British AZT-proponent, Dr Anthony Pinching, put it: "The trouble is the side-effects of AZT are similar to AIDS symptoms." (*The Big Issue* 3/5/94) Three people in all have so far been granted legal aid to sue Wellcome. In the US a couple are also suing after their two-year-old Romanian adopted daughter was put on AZT syrup and suffered persistent illness until they decided to take her off.

Despite what could be seen as setbacks, Campbell—like others—still seems to stick to the view that HIV is the sole and sufficient cause of AIDS—whatever HIV-discov-

erer Montagnier and others may say: "I absolutely believe that HIV causes AIDS", he told us. The Concorde AZT trial failure has sunk other parts of his view; for example that "drugs work much better on patients whose immune systems are still relatively intact", although no reappraisal of this situation has appeared in print as yet. In the past Campbell has quoted Dr Robert Gallo's view that using anti-viral drugs only *after* someone had been diagnosed with AIDS was "almost certainly too late"—it was essential to use them as early as possible. Early use is now discredited. In fact, one of the largest retrospective studies for those with AIDS even found that "For patients surviving two years since starting zidovudine (AZT), the death rate was greater than for untreated patients who had developed AIDS at the same time" (*Journal of the American Medical Association* (271) 1994).

Recently however—in what must be one of the most surprising scientific reconciliations ever—Dr Gallo was seen with an arm round his arch-critic, the AIDS dissident Dr Peter Duesberg, after a meeting about 'poppers' (amyl nitrate) in Washington. There, for the first time, Dr Gallo admitted that HIV may *not* be the primary cause of AIDS disease Kaposi's sarcoma. Though it was "an enormous catalytic factor ... there must be something else involved". He added that "we've never found HIV DNA in T-cells ... in other words we've never seen the role of HIV as a transforming virus in any way." After years of unhesitating assurance, Gallo admitted: "The nitrites [eg amyl nitrate, 'poppers'] could be the primary factor." He also suggested that the much vilified Duesberg should have his research funding reinstated. How appropriate, then, was the AZT treatment for the tens of thousands of gay men who died with Kaposi's sarcoma?

In spite of the failure of Concorde to show that AZT is of use to HIV antibody positive but asymptomatic subjects, a second controversial AZT trial—the PENTA trial—is continuing at the Great Ormond Street Hospital. There, AZT is given mainly to black babies and children. Critics say that mothers are reluctant to allow the drug to be given to their babies but are afraid of being deported if they protest. Ealing hospital refused to be part of the trial because the protocol stipulated that babies were to be given the AZT syrup even if they fell ill as a result.

Britain's best-known gay activist, Peter Tatchell, is arguably more in tune with new developments in the world of AIDS than Duncan Campbell. In a 1993 article he wrote in the *Pink Paper*, called "Vital Strength", he discussed new research in the US suggesting that a high nutrient intake may strengthen the immune system of people with HIV and reduce the risk of developing AIDS. "After all the exaggerated claims by the promoters of AZT, here is a non-toxic, cheap and do-it-yourself therapy that may help people with HIV to enhance the quality of their lives, lessen their likelihood of illness, and prolong their survival."

"The scientific and medical professions have been so obsessed with the development of a hi-tech anti-viral drug, which they can patent and profit from, that they have refused to look seriously at glaringly obvious possibilities such as

diet. Why? Because there is no money to be made from it. People with HIV are expendable. Profits are not!

"Few AIDS organisations, which are supposed to advocate the interests of people with HIV, have bothered to press for nutritional research. They have, with rare honourable exceptions, colluded with the profit-driven agendas of the drug companies."

"I am furious" Tatchell added, "that... people with HIV have had to wait until 1993 to get authoritative confirmation of the importance of nutritional intake... I wonder how many of my friends with HIV might have lived longer and had better lives if a few research departments had bothered to put several thousand pounds into investigating the links between nutrition and AIDS?"

Luc Montagnier concurs: "Diet plays an important part in determining the course of the disease... but such research does not interest most scientists and the conventional funding bodies" (*Financial Times* 9/12/91).

A recent survey in the *NAM (AIDS Treatment Update)* reported that their HIV-positive readers reported using over 130 different orthodox, complementary or alternative therapies. Vitamin and mineral supplements were the most commonly used of all of them. Thirty percent of HIV-positive people who were not using orthodox treatments did so because they believe them to do more harm than good. The reader survey also found that readers clearly wanted to see more on 'underground' therapies, healthy living and complementary and alternative therapies. Anti-virals (eg AZT) were most mentioned as a subject focused on too much. The *NAM's* Keith Alcorn also reported "a strong scientific rationale for the use of some micronutrients as co-therapy for HIV infection" such as Vitamin C and beta-carotene.

The BNF's 'Aids and Nutrition' conference could have discussed these new changes—it didn't. Instead speakers focused on the danger of so-called 'fad' diets such as macrobiotic or anti-candida, and even the basic 'healthy diet' came under attack. Allegedly they could all be cutting out so much energy—in the form of fat and sugar—that they would cause weight loss and faster progression to AIDS. A predictable message given the companies who hold the purse-strings of the BNF, but not one that seemed to impress the very few gay men who were present.

Walker and the 'Vitamin Conspiracy'

Campbell expanded on his criticisms of Walker and the 'vitamin conspiracy' when we put the allegations contained in *Dirty Medicine* to him. Walker's work was probably done for Dr Jean Monro, Campbell insisted, but Walker denies this. Was Monro anyway really in the same league as pharmaceutical companies, we asked? The Breakspear Hospital turned over one and a half million a year—we should look at her bank accounts, Campbell explained. In fact we should look at Walker's too—a standard finance house check would reveal to us something rather interesting that happened a year or two back, he said mysteriously! The Breakspear Hospital was closed down a year after the World in Action programme which



Cartoon from a supplements company newsletter, 1990

led to an almost total fall-off of patients. Dr Monro had to move to new premises.

Though he wasn't able to be 100% specific about exactly where Walker's alleged support may have come from, he was able to provide some big names who had supported a conference given by the Institute for Optimum Nutrition (ION), whose director spoke at the launch of *Dirty Medicine*. He named Hoffman La Roche, Solgar and Lamberts, a subsidiary of the Novo Nordisk pharmaceutical conglomerate, as sponsors—not difficult to find out as the names had been advertised with the ION conference. If it was true that Walker had been business-funded, Campbell reasonably suggested, then *Dirty Medicine* ought to have had a 'financial disclosure statement' at the beginning. In an interview with *Open Eye*, Walker said "obviously I needed money to carry out three years' research for *Dirty Medicine*. In the main I had to borrow this money from concerned individuals. When the book was published I was £15,000 in debt. I have never taken any money from commercial interests."

Funding questions apart, Campbell's bottom line is that Walker's book is a tissue of lies—a conspiratorial load of rubbish: "His is a simple McCarthyite smear, invoked at every turn and without evidence in the way that others in other times always alleged the hands of Jews, communists, or queers behind every event they did not like", Campbell wrote to us. The book "seeks to excuse the sellers of dangerous and misdescribed products and to exculpate criminals" he explained in a letter to the *Journal of Alternative and Complementary Medicine*.

As for specific mistakes, Campbell says the book ignored his own central role in setting up the Community Research Organisation—an AIDS research and information group which the book mentioned only as being set up by Cass Mann and Stuart Marshall of Positively Healthy. Campbell was also actively involved in setting up ACT-UP, "the anti-Wellcome group." Indeed he told *Open Eye*: "I am not a supporter of AZT and never was." Walker is right that AZT is not a cure, he went on to explain, but he showed no interest in fighting Wellcome until it became a convenient banner under which to

serve the Harley Street Clinics with whom he is now friendly, alleges Campbell.

Campbell also draws attention to a London talk given by a representative from a US project treating HIV patients with naturopathic remedies which, Walker says, "appeared to be filibustered by Dr Pinching"—completely false, says Campbell. Furthermore, Walker uses evidence selectively: no mention is made of the fact that two of the specialists Walker had 'championed'—Dr James Sharp and Jabar Sultan—had also used AZT and Wellferon, another Wellcome drug, in their treatments: "On 13th March 1989, Philip Barker (a crook who is another Walker hero) went to Wellcome Research Labs, Beckenham, Kent, seeking [to] get funds, AZT and interferon supplies from Wellcome. Why was this information left out?" In fact Barker, Sharp and Sultan's meeting with the Wellcome Foundation is clearly recorded on page 435 of the book. Walker says, however, that the purpose of the meeting was not, as Campbell claims, to obtain AZT.

Also missing, he told *Open Eye*, was any mention of an "orthodox" doctor, Dr Peter Nixon, whom Campbell had exposed for handing out tranquillisers like smarties. On closer inspection, however, Dr Nixon isn't a very good example for Campbell to use to prove that he evenhandedly criticises orthodox doctors along with the those who use complementary therapies. Dr Nixon helped write the British Holistic Medical Association's response to the Government's Green Paper "The Health of the Nation" in 1991.

Perhaps the most damaging allegation Walker makes is that Campbell may have twice contaminated 'probiotic' pills with faecal bacteria before they were sent to be tested. Rubbish, says Campbell: in one instance the bacteria—enterococcus faecium—was actually listed in the ingredients, it was certainly not a contaminant put there by him. What does this tell us about Walker's standards of accuracy, asks Campbell?

These tests had formed the basis of one of Campbell's hardest-hitting and most contentiously-headed articles, "Let them eat shit" about "French con-man" Yves Delatte who sold 'probiotic' pills based on the kinds of healthy bacteria used in 'live' yoghurt: a "dangerous" mixture, according to Campbell. Surprisingly, far better known brands of probiotics which include faecal bacteria—such as streptococcus faecium—are still available in Holland and Barrett. One wonders why Campbell is not targetting them? Perhaps because—as Campbell told us to our amazement—the two biggest probiotic manufacturers in Britain support him, though he declined to name them when pressed. Perhaps, as would seem logical, they had helped him with information which would put newcomer Yves Delatte's tiny operation in a bad light? The actual fraud with Delatte, Campbell explained, was merely that he made health claims for 'probiotics'—which are in common use across Scandinavia. Anyway, Campbell added, finding such bacteria on food would normally be regarded as food poisoning.

There is in fact some scientific evidence of medical benefit from faecal bacteria though most producers stick to the more accepted bifidobacteria. Mangled and sim-

plistic word-of-mouth tales, based on Campbell's "Let them eat shit" article, still crop up, describing alternative medicine proponents selling human excrement—much easier to remember than a complicated scientific debate about the merits of different 'probiotic' supplements: this could have been an honest and useful discussion but it was never even begun.

Walker was also wrong to portray him as utterly against alternative treatments, Campbell told us—he uses shiatsu and osteopathy. What, then, did he think about the attacks on herbs like comfrey where the evidence seemed very weak? "From what I know about comfrey I'm inclined to agree." He even told us that, at the time of the attacks on comfrey, "I had comfrey in my cupboard." What would he say to those who feel he was promoting AZT? "We're completely at one on the greed and the profiteering of Wellcome." By this time we were wondering if we had formed a completely wrong impression about Campbell? Surely he stood by his attacks on the holistic AIDS charity Positively Healthy? Well, Cass Mann, yes, but the organisation itself was getting better. It had just published a list of questions for "Evaluating Alternative treatments" which is very good; indeed if they continue in the same vein he would be "on their side" soon!

As this useful list is the first thing we know that Campbell and Positively Healthy can agree on we include an abridged version of it here.

Evaluating Alternative Treatments

1. Check for studies published in peer-reviewed medical journals.
2. Be careful of anecdotal reports. Personal testimonies are not enough to risk your health for.
3. Talk to informed and objective sources before making the decision.
4. Ask what is contained in the treatment. Ask what the side-effects are.
5. Question the price of the treatment.
6. If a product is promoted as a cure, demand proof.
7. Interview the promoter.
8. Watch out for treatments that cure both cancer and AIDS.
9. Be careful about stopping current medical treatments.

What about HealthWatch too, the group whose agenda he had done so much to publicise? They are known to have been, and may still be, funded by the pharmaceutical industry—did he still stand behind them? No, they are "ineffectual, ill-organised and bumbling" and he wants them shut down and he had told Vincent Marks so when they last spoke. The charity just attracted conspiracy theories—it was a sitting duck. Taking pharmaceutical money was a big mistake, he admitted—though surely he can't be referring to Wellcome's financial generosity, as he has repeatedly denied that there is any connection between Wellcome and the people "Walker sets out to abuse". To our even greater surprise he told us that Caroline Richmond, founder of HealthWatch, "hates orthodox doctors now" for subjecting her to a hysterectomy without her consent. She has

now set up the Reproductive Organs Conservation Trust to help sue over-zealous surgeons. A new and "comprehensively funded" organisation is needed to question alternative and orthodox medicine, Campbell concluded.

We asked whether his methods amounted to trial by media. "Bullshit", he retorted.

Even with all these grievances, was it really necessary to prevent distribution of *Dirty Medicine*—wouldn't he be seen as stopping free debate? It's a question of religious faith, he told us, and Walker and his people don't want to know the truth: "Freedom of discussion is stopped by lies and vilification" from Walker and his side. Indeed Walker is



"malicious and filled with hate". "You don't let people who put hatred before truth out into the media", he added.

With so many other legal letters sent out by Bindman and Partners to suppress the book, why has Walker himself—centre of the "conspiracy"—not been sent one? Because if he and his supporters will not recognise the truth even in court, Campbell explained, and he has no money to pay potential damages, then there is no real point. Walker "violently and maliciously doesn't want to know the facts".

The Future

Walker's book shows clearly how science, backed by industry, recognises only those rational claims which produce profit. Natural and preventative medicine is only one area in which industrial science is at war with what are seen as less profitable areas of scientific research. A recent book, *Forbidden Science – Suppressed research that could change our lives* by Richard Milton, makes clear that it is only one of the examples of a far wider trend.

Though the tendency towards a kind of closed-minded scientific fundamentalism may be hard to resist in such uncertain times as the present, science's 'paradigm police' cannot indefinitely ignore strong evidence of important discoveries. As Milton points out, even the two young bicycle mechanics—Wilbur and Orville Wright—who first flew a heavier-than-air flying machine had to put up with ridicule during their first five years of flight. The evidence of public demonstrations, affidavits from local dignitaries and photographs of themselves flying seemed to make no difference. *Scientific American*, the *New York Herald*, the US Army and most American scientists dismissed them as hoaxers. We now know better!

Another example offers even greater parallels with the subject under discussion. Back in 1955 Dr George Price of the Department of Medicine at the University of Min-

nesota published an article in the prestigious journal *Science* about some research into extrasensory perception. Price argued that ESP was scientifically impossible and therefore that the research *must* have been done by fraudulent experimenters. With the weight of *Science* behind it, this article was—for many scientists—the final nail in the coffin of paranormal research.

Almost twenty years later, in 1972, Dr Price wrote an apology in *Science* to the two paranormal researchers he had attacked. He withdrew some of his allegations of fraud and admitted that he had made them without even attempting to find any evidence. He also admitted that he had been under the mistaken assumption that one of the researchers had been trying to promote some kind of religious belief.

How often might HealthWatch have similarly alleged fraud without a shred of evidence? In one instance, at least, this does seem to have been proved to be the case. In June 1994 HealthWatch and Professor Garrow apologised for alleging 'health fraud' against Larkhall and for appearing to deny any link between vitamins and children's IQ. HealthWatch paid undisclosed costs and libel damages.

One can only hope that at some time in the future Campbell and others will cease what he refers to as their "religious struggle" against those who—in their minds—are "religious zealots" with "new mythologies that pretend to be sciences": that they will stop working from initial assumptions of criminality, guilt and fraud that stifle the authentic new discoveries and innovative science which undoubtedly exist amidst some more dubious findings. Only once misapprehensions and preconceptions have been discarded can the quackbusters' criticisms really be called scientific. The scientific establishment unfortunately has quite some way to go in this respect if the comments of Dr Lewis Wolpert, media science pundit and chair of the Committee on the Public Understanding of Science, are anything to go by. He dismissed BBC2's impressive series "Heretics", about unconventional thinkers in science and medicine, as "disgusting" and a "grotesque distortion"—"it just fills me with rage". When asked whether he thought scientists should be open-minded, he responded: "Open minds are empty minds".

Am I alone in thinking that alternative medicine in fact shows a broadening and maturing of science rather than an alarming retreat from rationality into some dark age of scientific anarchy which must be prevented at any cost? Even if 'quackbusting' journalism can expose some real con-artists and liars, we must ask if the intolerance and closed-mindedness that can accompany it is too high a price to pay. As Dr Jacques Benveniste has said: "Salem witchhunts or McCarthy-like prosecutions will kill science. Science flourishes only in freedom. We must not let, at any price, fear, blackmail, anonymous accusation, libel and deceit nest in our labs."

Dirty Medicine (second revised printing, 733 pages) is available from Slingshot Publications, BM Box 8314, London WC1N 3XX. Cost £15 + £1.50 p&p. Trade enquiries welcome.



The Judi Bari Bombing

How the FBI targeted Earth First!

Over the years we have been warned about the danger of subversive organisations, organisations that would threaten our liberties, subvert our system, would encourage its members to take further illegal action to advance their views, organisations that would incite and promote violence, pitting one American group against another ... [T]here is an organisation that does fit those descriptions, and it is the organisation, the leadership which has been most constant in its warning to us to be on guard against such harm. The [FBI] did all of those things.

—Senator Philip A. Hart, Select Committee on Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans, 1975.

After ambulances had left for the hospital with the driver and her passenger, but before arrival of the Alameda sheriff's bomb squad at approximately 1:05 pm, Gribi began her investigation. In her report, she states that it was clear to her that what had occurred had resulted from a bomb detonating because of "a strong odor of what was consistent with gun powder that I have smelled on the [OPD] firing range. Once I was inside the vehicle the smell was even stronger." Gribi "laid on the ground right side of the veh and took photos under the veh showing the damage UNDER the driver's seat ... [Moving top-side,] the driver's seat was pushed forward for me to take photos UNDER the seat showing

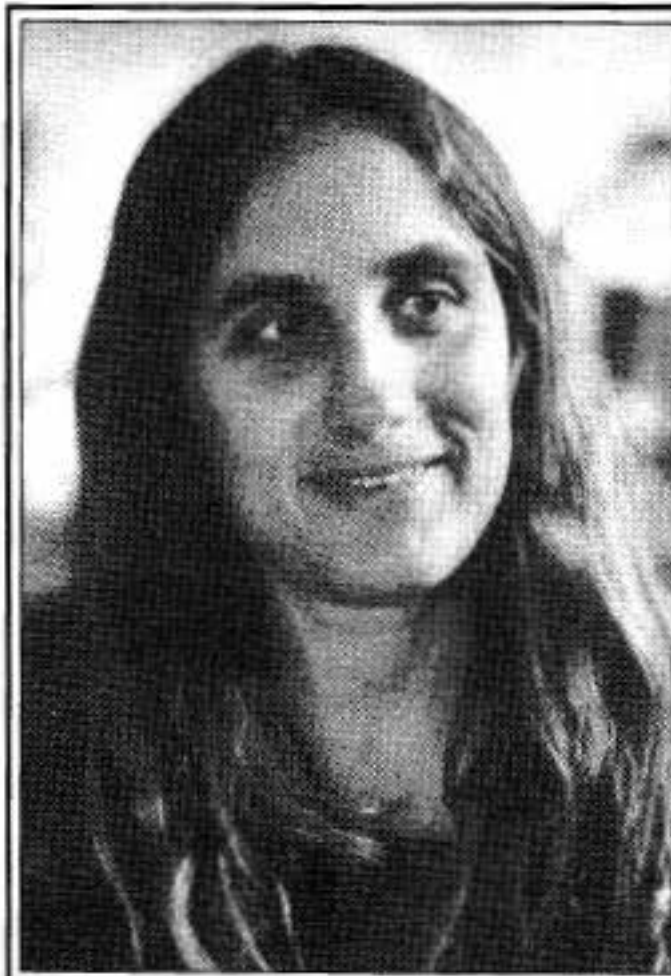
ina later recounted that the driver, who was in shock, repeated several times that she didn't know what had happened, but it seemed "like a bomb had gone off in the car."³ Brian Buckman, a paramedic attending the passenger, reported that the man, who was dazed but lucid and less badly injured than the driver, said "he was a political activist and that what had happened was an assassination attempt" by people opposed to his and the driver's political activities.⁴ Both paramedics reported the contents of their conversations to the police.

Enter the FBI

Meanwhile, a team of FBI agents headed by Special Agent (SA) Frank Doyle, Jr, a specialist assigned to the San Francisco Field Office's International/Domestic Terrorism Squad, had arrived to "assist" in the investigation.⁵ While concurring as to the type of bomb which had exploded, Doyle was emphatic in his assertions that, contrary to Gribi's conclusion, "the location of the explosive device was ... immediately behind the driver's seat (emphasis added)."⁶ Hence, by the time the Alameda County bomb squad completed its preliminary investigation at around 2:30pm, the situation had become somewhat confused. "It appeared that the device was underneath and possibly just to the rear of the driver's seat (emphasis added)," reported Deputy T.J. Rounph, in a masterpiece of hedging.⁷

As this was going on, the victims were identified as "Judi Bari, white female, 40 years-of-age," and her passenger, "Darryl Cherney, white male, 33 years-of-age." OPD Sergeant Michael Sitterud, who had been assigned by Lt. Clyde "Mike" Sims to take the lead in investigating the case—and who in this capacity met with SA Doyle and another agent, John Reikes, at about 7pm on the night of the bombings—depicted Bari and Cherney as "radical activists ... Earth First leaders suspected of Santa Cruz power pole sabotage, linked to federal case of attempt destruction of nuclear power plant lines in Arizona."⁹ Acting on the basis of this FBI-supplied disinformation—the Bureau has never produced any sort of substantiation of these rather serious allegations—Sitterud and his partner, Sgt Robert Chenault, decided that Bari and Cherney were so "dangerous" as to require immediate arrest.¹⁰

From there, it appears to have been a simple matter of expediency for officers to ig-



In 1990 Judi Bari, trade unionist and green activist, and Darryl Cherney were the leading Earth First! organisers coordinating what promised to be a huge non-violent mobilisation against strip-logging in the redwood forest region of northern California. As they travelled from meeting to meeting—successfully linking together environmentalists, students, peace activists and even some loggers—a bomb exploded in their car, nearly killing them both and crippling Bari for life. This followed a rising tide of harassment and violence against environmentalists.

The local police investigation into the bombing was taken over by FBI anti-terrorism experts. They were intent on showing, not that the two activists were targets of an attempted murder, but that—in defiance of the evidence—they had been knowingly carrying the bomb and were in fact green political terrorists, guilty of the assassination attempt that almost took their lives. The media trumpeted their alleged guilt.

Ward Churchill, an expert in US domestic political repression, describes the fight by Judi Bari and Darryl Cherney to prove their innocence and the startling results of their investigations into the FBI and the local Oakland Police including the discovery of a resurgence in the FBI's notorious COINTELPRO tactics.

Shortly before noon on the morning of May 24, 1990, a white Subaru station wagon blew up as it moved northward along Park Boulevard in Oakland, California. Its occupants disabled by the blast, the vehicle drifted left and slammed into a guard rail before coming to a halt. The first police officer on the scene, Patrolman Alner Brewer, put out an emergency radio call at 11:55am, that "a vehicle just exploded and [he] needed assistance." Response was provided by, among others, Michele Gribi, a civilian evidence technician employed by the Oakland Police Department (OPD), who arrived five minutes later.

the damage and the nails stuck in the seat (emphasis added).² Both the nails and "very small black fragments all over the inside of the veh" suggested to her that the bomb which had exploded directly beneath the driver was a fragmentation device, purposely designed as an antipersonnel weapon. The possibility of an attempt on the lives of the car's occupants was thus implicit to her findings.

En route to emergency treatment, and without any knowledge of what Gribi was discovering, both victims were offering spontaneous commentary which led toward the same conclusion. Paramedic Sal Taorm-

nore both Gribi's report and the more ambiguous finding of the county sheriff's technicians in favour of Doyle's "bomb in the back" scenario.¹¹ The advantage to this was that in such a placement the device would necessarily have been visible to Bari and Cherney, suggesting they had been knowingly transporting it when it accidentally went off. This in turn afforded the police a pretext for charging them with "illegal possession of explosives."¹² It followed that on May 25, barely 27 hours after he'd narrowly escaped death at the hands of "party or parties unknown," Darryl Cherney was arrested while checking out of the hospital. His companion, her pelvis shattered, her legs, face and abdomen perforated by shrapnel—she was permanently disabled by the blast—was still listed in critical condition, and was too sedated to be aware that she had been placed under round-the-clock police guard.¹³

Cherney was initially held in lieu of a \$3,000 bond. When supporters showed up to post it, however, they discovered that the amount had been raised to \$12,000. Having gathered that sum, they found that the Assistant District Attorney Chris Carpenter, acting on advice of OPD Sgt Ramón Paniagua, had managed to convince Municipal Judge Horace Wheatley that the accused represented such a "threat to the community" that—although one of them would be in traction for another six to eight weeks—a bond of \$100,000 apiece was warranted.¹⁴ With Bari and Cherney thus "secured," Lt Sims convened a press conference to ex-

the Bari car bomb and a device which had been discovered and disarmed before it detonated some weeks previously at a Louisiana-Pacific Corporation sawmill in Cloverdale.¹⁸

The Case of the Nonexistent Case

Having "achieved such stunning results" in projecting the victims as "terrorists" at the very outset of their "investigation," the problem confronting Sims' detectives was coming up with some sort of proof to support their sensational allegations. And here they weren't faring well at all. For starters, they had searched Cherney's house and van—the "suspect" had immediately signed a waiver of rights against unwarranted search at the request of Philip Sena, one of Diedrich's "un-

"the problem confronting the detectives was coming up with some sort of proof to support their sensational allegations"

involved" agents (hardly the posture of someone with something to hide)—and had found nothing incriminating.¹⁹ Execution of a search warrant on Bari's Mendocino County residence, obtained on an emergency basis at 2am on May 25, produced similar results.²⁰ So did searches of the premises of Bari's and Cherney's "known associates".

Others, like the pacifist Seeds for Peace Collective in Berkeley, with whom Bari and Cherney had been meeting during the evening prior to the explosion, were never afforded the opportunity of waiving their rights. In their case, a team of police, guns drawn, simply forced entry to their residence, "tossed" the place in a warrantless search which left it looking as if another bomb had been detonated therein, and then whisked eight members away for hours of intensive interrogation.²² This too failed to yield incriminating evidence—other than of a series of arrogant breaches of constitutional constraints by the police themselves—against anyone at all.

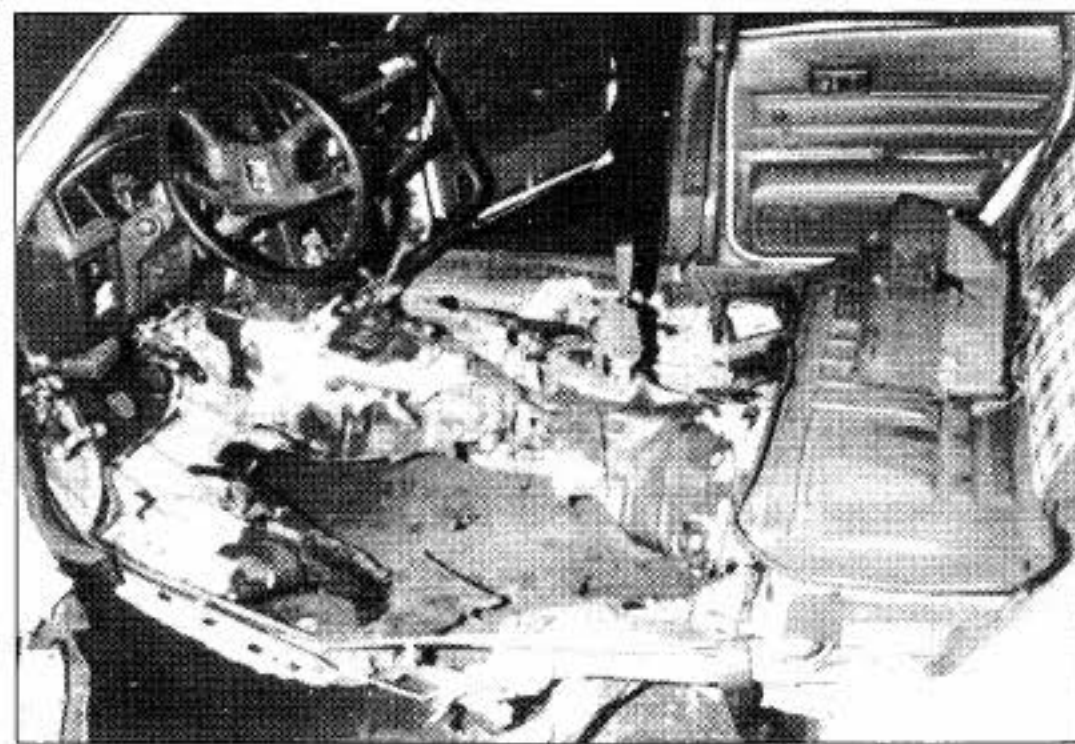
By Tuesday, May 29, the day on which the accused were scheduled for arraignment, such draconian tactics had yielded virtually nothing which might be construed as tying either Bari or Cherney to the bomb. All told, the combined efforts of the FBI and police had "recovered" a roll of duct tape, some electrical wire of the same general variety as that employed by the bomb-makers, and a bag of nails of the same type—among the most common in the country—as those used in constructing the device. Each item was readily accounted for by the fact that Bari had for some time earned her living as



a carpenter/repair person.²³ Under the circumstances, prosecutor Carpenter had no alternative but to ask for a continuance during which he might "review the evidence" before deciding how to proceed.²⁴ The motion was granted by Municipal Judge Judith Ford, a new date of arraignment was set for June 18, and Cherney was ordered released on bail.²⁵

"Judi Bari and I had absolutely nothing to do with the bomb," said Cherney in a press conference conducted immediately after his release. "Personally, I'm scared to death of explosives. I've never even lit a firecracker in my life ... We've said all along that we were victims of an assassination attempt, but the police have absolutely ignored even the possibility that we're telling the truth while devoting all their time and energy to trying to prove the absurd idea that we blew ourselves up ... I don't appreciate the fact that we are being persecuted [by the police] rather than protected."²⁶ As Defence Attorney Susan Jordan put it, "We feel that Judi and Darryl are subjects of attempted murder, and we're afraid the tracks [of the real culprit] may be getting cold" while the police "thrash around trying to pin the rap on the victims."²⁹

Ultimately, they were proven correct when, after obtaining a second continuance (until July 17), Carpenter quietly notified the court that he had no basis upon which to proceed. "There was just nothing to support those charges," says a former staff member of the Oakland District Attorney's Office. "In fact, by mid-June it had become apparent to many of us that the evidence pointed to an opposite conclusion. But none of the police agencies involved were willing to move things in the direction of an attempted murder [of Bari and Cherney] investigation. Some of the law enforcement people we were dealing with were so insistent that the Earth First! people had to be guilty, regardless of the known facts, that some of us began to feel they were trying to manipulate us into pursuing the case for reasons other than legitimate criminal prosecution. You never want to believe that things like that can happen, but they do. And they can get really ugly, so the DA finally decided we should cut our losses by bowing out of the whole thing



The FBI claimed the bomb was located in plain view on the rear seat floorboard, so Bari and Cherney knew they were carrying it. The FBI's own photos show that it was hidden under the driver's seat and meant to kill

plain that he considered the case to be solved and that his investigators were "no longer considering other suspects."¹⁵

Across the Bay, in San Francisco, FBI Public Information Specialist Duke Diedrich held a media event of his own, denouncing as "irresponsible and moronic" those who had already begun to remark upon the "stench of an FBI set-up" swirling around what was happening.¹⁶ "We categorically deny that," Diedrich heatedly proclaimed. "I don't think there's any evidence of FBI involvement" in the matter.¹⁷ Even as he spoke, however, agents Doyle and Reikes were busily attempting to convince authorities in Sonoma County that there was a "link" between

as rapidly and gracefully as possible."³⁰

The Return of Judi Bari

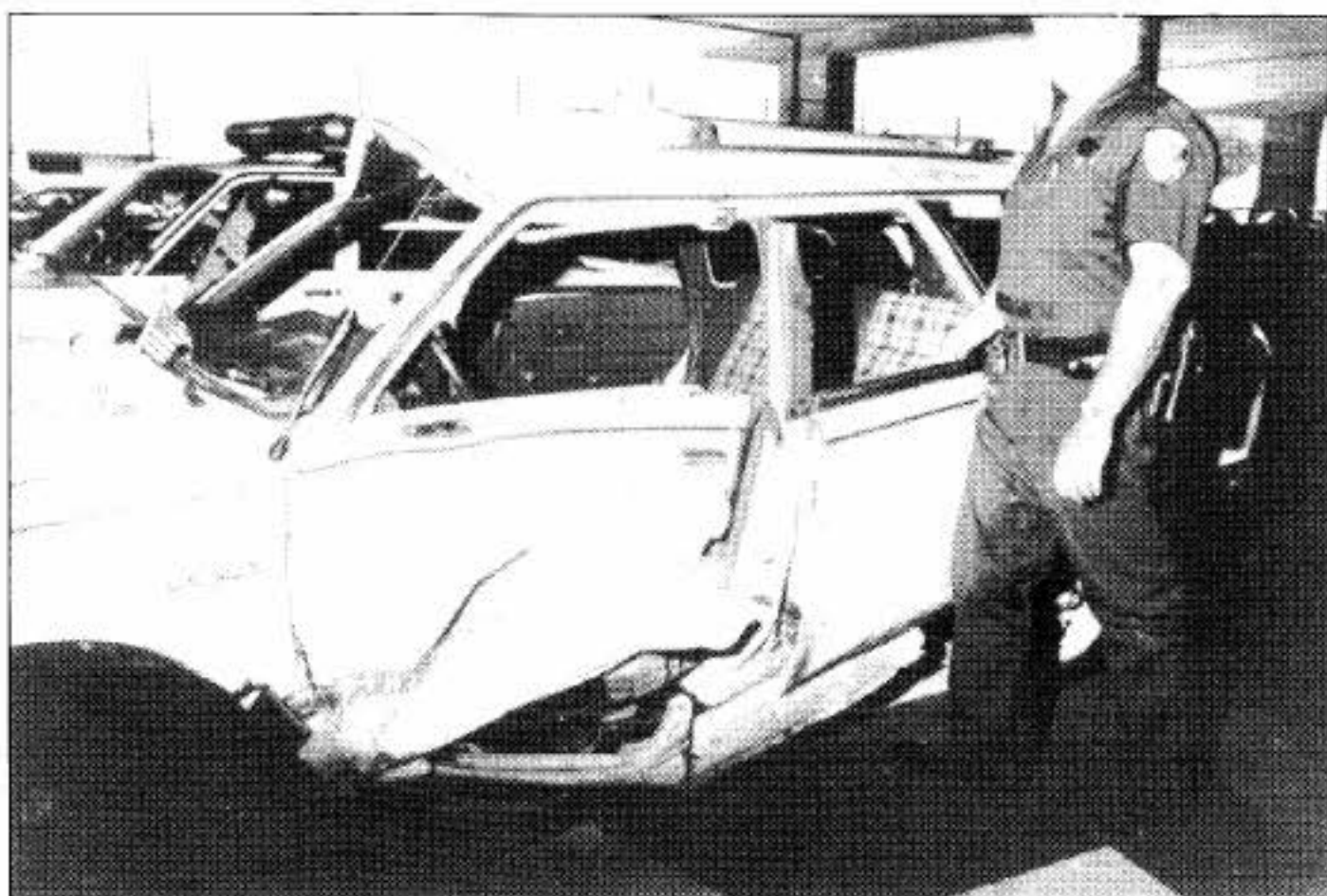
It was an angry Judi Bari who emerged from the hospital in August. Her initial inclination was to suspect that she and Cherney had, because of their central roles in organising the incipient and potentially massive "Redwood Summer" anti-logging campaign in northern California, been targeted for elimination at the hands of contract killers hired by major timber corporations operating in the area.³¹ As an alternative, she felt the bomber might simply have been "some nut" associated with virulently anti-environmentalist groups like the 'Sahara Club' or the Death to Earth First! wing of 'Americans for Common Sense', both of which had been issuing threats of physical violence against Bari and others for several months.³²

Friends of Judi Bari's wrote in a newsletter that "[Organisers had] been sent 'The Sahara Club Newsletter' ... making extremely violent threatening suggestions as to how to deal with Earth First! ... Two cartoons were used to pinpoint Bari and Cherney and Greg King. One, entitled "Stompers," gives warning to "low lifes" Darryl Cherney, Greg King and Judi Bari. It goes on to offer, 'If you want to become a martyr, we will be happy to oblige.' Also in April, Bari found a photograph of herself with the crosshairs of a rifle drawn over her face tacked to the door of the Mendocino Environmental Center. The photo had stapled to it a yellow ribbon, the symbol of solidarity with the timber industry, and faeces had been thrown at the picture."³³

All of these incidents were reported to the local police and FBI with no results. "If you turn up dead, we'll investigate," a Mendocino County Deputy informed Bari at one point.³⁴ According to Cherney, "The Humboldt sheriffs ... were sure one of us was going to get killed. They did consider the threats to be serious, but they didn't want to spend their time on it because they don't like us any more than the timber industry does."³⁵ It follows that "our first impulse was not really to suspect that someone working for the police or FBI had actually tried to kill us," as

Bari puts it, "but that the cops were more-or-less aware of who might have committed the crime, that they were politically and ideologically sympathetic to them, and were therefore covering-up for them by refusing to investigate the question of who had really planted the bomb in our car. This was all so blatant that there was no way I was going to allow it to go unchallenged."³⁶

Moreover, Bari was infuriated that both local and federal law enforcement agencies had "made these absolutely bogus charges against Darryl and I, and then refused to drop them for almost two months after it had to have become obvious to investigators that there was nothing to support them."³⁷ The police "just used the whole thing to garner a tremendous propaganda coup ... eight solid weeks of sensational press coverage about us—and, by extension, environmental activism as a whole—as being 'eco-terrorists' ... deliberately creating a public misimpression meant to discredit us both individually and organisationally because the government finds us politically objectionable."³⁸



"The police used it as a tremendous propaganda coup: weeks of sensational press coverage about us—and, by extension, environmental activism as a whole—as being 'eco-terrorists' ... because the government finds us politically objectionable"

In sum, "the official response to the bombing had nothing at all to do with finding the guilty parties. It was a ploy to isolate and intimidate key organisers of Redwood Summer in such a way as to undermine or completely destroy the anti-logging offensive we were planning."³⁹

Others, however, felt there might be even more official malfeasance involved than Bari believed. A prime example was Earth First! founder David Foreman, who had been arrested for conspiracy to sabotage power generating facilities in Arizona on May 30, 1989.⁴⁰ What was most striking about the case was that the entire scheme had been proposed, and many of the materials with which to carry it out supplied by Michael Fain (aka: "Mike Tate"), an FBI agent provocateur who had infiltrated the group two

years previously (during the ensuing trials in 1990-91, two more infiltrators were exposed, and it was revealed that the Bu-

reau had flown surveillance missions over Foreman's house and utilised high-powered directional microphones to record his private conversations from afar).⁴¹ Hence, Foreman became one of the first to warn that "FBI provocateurs should not be ruled out in the Bari-Cherney case."⁴²

Partly because of deep philosophical and tactical differences with Foreman and his wing of Earth First!, partly because they were not yet prepared to accept the implications of the government itself having made an attempt on their lives, both Cherney and Bari for a time remained sceptical of such ideas.⁴³ Still, as Sheila O'Donnell—a seasoned detective well-versed in such matters who had been retained by Greenpeace on behalf of Earth First!—continued her investigation, Bari in particular began to change her mind. "I kept trying to write everything off as just being coincidences," she re-

counts, "but after a while there was just too much indication of direct FBI involvement for it to be explained away like that."⁴⁴

The Plot Thickens

The crux upon which Bari's views began to shift was a missive which had been sent to the editor of the *Santa Rosa Press Democrat* on May 30, 1990. Calling himself the "Lord's Avenger," the anonymous author claimed to have planted not only the bomb in Bari's car, but the earlier Cloverdale sawmill bomb as well.⁴⁵ Stating that Bari's pro-abortion views rather than her environmentalism had motivated his attempt to kill her—and to bring "infamy down on" her by attacking the Louisiana-Pacific sawmill—he went on to detail the construction of both devices in a manner quickly validated as "very accurate" by SA John Reikes, now functioning as "leader of the FBI's team of investigators on the case".⁴⁶

On its face, the Lord's Avenger Letter seemed to fit at least loosely into a series of notes received by northern California organisers—women were routinely described as being "Earth First! lesbians whose favourite pastime is to eat box lunches in pyjamas", men as "Earth First! fellatio experts [who] suck dicks in outhouses"—over the preceding three months.⁴⁷ "We'd always attributed the letters to a private individual," Bari says, "thinking it was just some right-wing, fundamentalist, homophobic, sexually-repressed sicko—and of course the description still fits whoever sent these things, regardless of whether they were a private party or someone more official—so my first reaction was simply to be furious because the police were showing no signs of going after the guy once it became apparent he was homicidal, and had attempted to murder us."⁴⁸

But then, certain interesting aspects of the Avenger's characterisation of the bombs were pointed out to her. For example, the writer described the Cloverdale device as having been constructed with 1.5" pipe,

"Foreman warned that 'FBI provocateurs should not be ruled out in the Bari-Cherney case'"



One of the anonymous death threats sent to Judi Bari

while press accounts and all the Sonoma County Sheriff's report on which they were based had indicated 2" pipe had been used.⁴⁹ Only the FBI lab report—which had not been made public—mentioned 1.5" pipe. In addition, it was found that the Avenger letter listed bomb components in precisely the same order in which they appear in FBI internal documents.⁵⁰ This led Bari to conclude that the FBI itself might have concocted the note as a diversion—"providing a plausible lone assassin not connected to *Timber or the FBI*"—once it became clear that the attempt to frame her and Cherney would not hold up.⁵¹ And the only reason they would do that, she surmised, "would be if they were themselves somehow directly involved in planting the bombs."⁵²

Nor was this all. A little over a month before her car was bombed, Bari had received a death threat typed on a plain white card and mailed on April 10 from the North Bay Postal Station in Sausalito.⁵³ As it turned out, analysis revealed the card was typed on the same typewriter as an anonymous and unsolicited "informant report"—purportedly by a disenchanted Earth First! member who wished to be code-named "Argus"—sent to Chief Fred Keplinger of the Ukiah, California police on January 6, 1990.⁵⁴ The letter charged that "Earth First! recently began automatic weapons training" and that Judi "Bari sells marijuana to finance Earth First activities." As "proof" of the first assertion, the writer enclosed a photograph of Bari holding an Uzi "submachine gun."⁵⁵ After the car bombing, the Ukiah police released this photo to the press in an effort to substantiate official contentions that Bari was a "terrorist."⁵⁶

Suspicious as to who might have authored both the death threat and the informant letter quickly centred on a rather mysterious "peace activist" named Irv Sutley who had ensconced himself in the Santa Rosa Peace and Justice Center (PJC) about a year-and-a-half earlier.⁵⁷ The reasons for this were that, aside from repeatedly (and unsuccessfully) attempting to buy marijuana from Bari, he himself owned the weapon and had staged the gag photo of "Bari and her Uzi" shortly after arriving on the scene.⁵⁸ An ex-

amination of the PJC offices turned up the offending typewriter, which the staff readily sold to Bari as potential evidence in a lawsuit she was by then beginning to consider filing against the FBI and assorted police departments associated with her case.

For his part, Sutley—who had no known means of support, although he was frequently witnessed making liberal use of credit cards⁵⁹—effected a rapid relocation southward, to the home of Dr James Gordon, a wealthy Oakland Republican.⁶⁰ Subsequent investigation turned up the fact that he had "a long history of political sabotage and intimidation of other activists, participating in the Peace and Freedom Party."⁶¹ For obvious reasons, the possibility that this made-to-order infiltrator/provocateur was employed by the FBI, and that he might be somehow involved in sending the Lord's Avenger Letter and/or planting the bombs, was not the furthest thing from Bari's mind.

Ghosts of COINTELPRO

Following the suggestions of O'Donnell and others, Bari at last began seriously to explore possible commonalities between what had been happening to her and what had occurred within the framework of known FBI domestic counterintelligence programs, or COINTELPROs, as they were known in Bureau-speak, during the 1960s.⁶² What she discovered was increasingly frightening. For starters, there was the stated purpose of such operations—"to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralise" politically dissident citizens of the United States—secretly advanced by FBI Director J Edgar Hoover in 1967.⁶³ This seemed an adequate enough description of what she and her colleagues had been experiencing at the hands of the authorities.

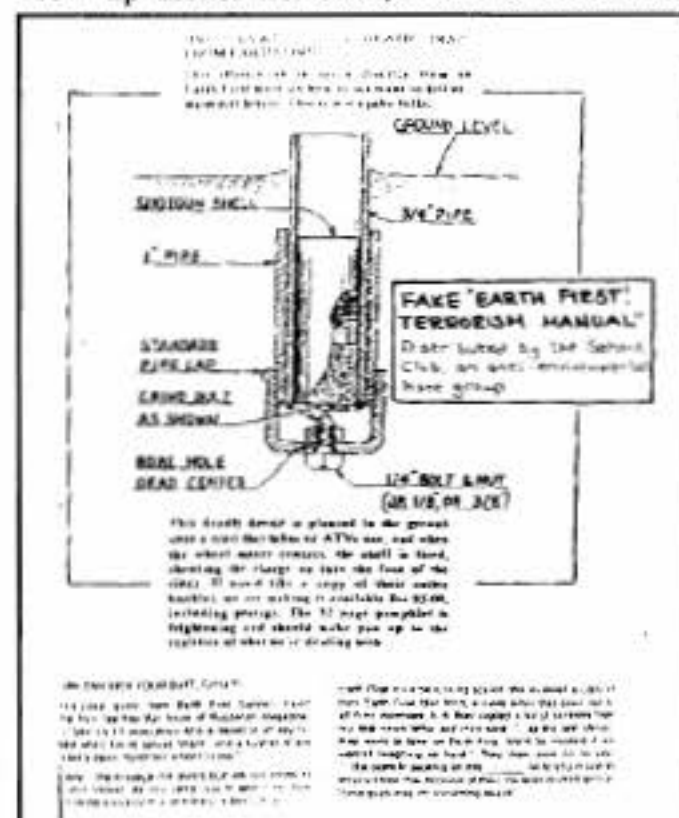
Then there was the fact that, although the program was allegedly terminated in 1971—once a citizens' group proved its existence by burglarising files from the Bureau's Resident Agency in Media, Pennsylvania—several former agents have indicated that little more was done than to abandon use of the acronym.⁶⁴ "Nothing else changed. We just kept right on using all the same illegal techniques for repressing political dissent we'd used all along," says one. "Only we began framing what we were doing in terms of 'combating terrorism' rather than neutralising political extremists."⁶⁵

Among the tactics issued, Bari found, was that delineated by Hoover in a memo to his SACs (Special Agents in Charge), instructing COINTELPRO operatives to be "alert to opportunities to have [targeted activists] arrested by local authorities on drug charges." This idea was advanced in conjunction with recommendations to increase the use of anonymous letters and other "disinformation ... to confuse and disrupt [dissident] activities."⁶⁶ The methodological profile dovetailed perfectly with the suspected activities of Irv Sutley. Similarly, a strategy described by the SAC Philadelphia as having been used to destroy the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM)—manipulating local police into mak-

"We just kept right on using all the same illegal techniques for repressing political dissent we'd used all along"

ing "any excuse" to arrest organisational members and, if necessary, continue to "re-arrest them ... until they could no longer make bail"—bore an uncomfortable resemblance to the otherwise irrational treatment she and Cherney had received at the hands of the OPD.⁶⁷

Then there was a missive from Hoover to his Chicago SAC, directing that "extraordinary measures" be taken in aborting the "formidable threat" to the status quo posed by a "Rainbow Coalition" of various constituencies in the city—including not only student groups and progressive organisations, but street gangs—being organised by the local Black Panther Party (BPP) chapter and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).⁶⁸ This, Bari realised, was exactly what she had been doing in some ways, at least to the extent that she had been able to forge an embryonic unity among a number of plainly disparate elements of northern California cultural geography. At the time the bomb blew up under her seat, she had been able



Fake "Earth First! Terrorism Manual" distributed by the Sahara Club, an anti-environmental hate group

to obtain working agreements, not only from Earth First!ers and other, less militant, environmentalists to participate in Redwood Summer, but militant anti-war activists, the pacifists of Seeds for Peace, students from such elite institutions as the University of California's Berkeley and Santa Cruz campuses, and even a few loggers.⁶⁹

And it got worse. She discovered that after the December 4, 1969, assassinations of Illinois Black Panther Party (BPP) leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark—during a predawn "arms raid" on Hampton's apartment conducted by Chicago State's Attorney's Police, but orchestrated by the FBI—all surviving Panther occupants of the residence had been arrested and held under heavy bail.⁷⁰ The arrests were followed by a series of official disinformational press conferences which generated sensational media coverage of the victims' supposed "violent tendencies," before the charges were quietly dropped.⁷¹ This was precisely what had happened to her and Cherney. Finally, she came across the story of how Stu-

dent National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) organisers Ralph Featherstone and Che Payne were killed in 1970 by a car bomb presumed to have been planted by an FBI operative bent upon "neutralising" their effectiveness.⁷²

By this point, even the marked propensity exhibited by the FBI and cooperating police departments to impound such things as files, mailing lists and computer disks while supposedly searching for "bomb components" in the vehicles and residences of Bari and her friends began to take on connotations extending well beyond mere investigative propriety. "It became clear to me that they'd used the opportunity presented by the bombing to really consolidate their political intelligence on us," she recounts. "Some of my friends called me 'paranoid,' but, after a while, I began to respond with the old '60s adage about 'just because I'm paranoid doesn't mean they're not out to get me ... or us.'"⁷³

The Richard Held Connection

The clincher came when Bari discovered the identity and background of the Special Agent in Charge (SAC) of the FBI's San Francisco Field Office, Richard Wallace Held had cut his teeth as a young agent during the late 1960s in the Los Angeles office's 'Squad 2,' the team which handled COINTELPRO operations against the city's BPP chapter. He excelled in this capacity, overseeing the dissemination of false information about "Key Black Extremists," including a series of defamatory cartoons forged in the name of each group, designed to exacerbate tensions between the Panthers and a consortium of "violence prone" political rivals calling themselves the United Slaves (US) Organisation.⁷⁴

This created the context in which two ostensible US gunmen, the brothers George and Joseph Stiner, actually FBI provocateurs, were able to position themselves to assassinate LA Panther leaders Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and Jon Huggins on January 17, 1969.⁷⁵ In the wake of these murders, which Held described in a report to FBI Headquarters as a "success," he escalated his disinformation campaign.⁷⁶ One result was the murder of another Panther, John Savage, on May 23. Again Held took credit for the killing and increased the pressure for more. On August 14, a Panther named Sylvester Bell was shot to death by US members in San Diego.⁷⁷ By fall the "US/Panther War" had spread to the East Coast.⁷⁸ The final tally "directly attributable" to Held's operation, according to the Bureau's own documents, was at least six dead Panthers.⁷⁹

SA Held was also deeply involved in a range of other COINTELPROs aimed at the BPP and its supporters. For instance he was a key player in the Bureau's collaboration with LA Red Squad detectives Ray Callahan and Daniel Mahoney which resulted in the deliberate framing of Carter's replacement as LA Panther head, Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, for the 1968 "Tennis Court Murder" of school teacher Donna Olson.⁸⁰ Wrongfully convicted in 1972, largely on the basis of perjured testimony supplied by Julius C Butler, an informant directly supervised by Held, Pratt currently remains in prison.⁸¹

Richard Held is also known to have per-



sonally prepared the sexually malicious disinformation packet intended to discredit actress cum "Friend of the Panthers" Jean Seberg which was printed by *Los Angeles Times* gossip columnist Joyce Haber in 1970.⁸² The trauma caused by this episode is widely believed to have figured heavily in Seberg's subsequent suicide.⁸³ Branching out from BPP-related matters, he seems to have worked just as effectively against other radicals, wrapping up his career in Los Angeles by helping coordinate the Secret Army Organisation (SAO), an extreme right-wing formation devoted to the stockpiling of arms, bombing offices and other facilities of progressive organisations, and attempting to assassinate those, like economist Peter Bohmer, targeted by the Bureau as "Key White Radicals."⁸⁴

In 1975 Held put in a brief stint in South Dakota conducting the campaign against the American Indian Movement.⁸⁵ This operation resulted, among other things, in the fraudulent 1977 double-murder conviction of AIM member Leonard Peltier.⁸⁶ After assignments in the Philadelphia and Omaha field offices, and as Chief Inspector back at headquarters in 1982, he was rewarded for his "exemplary services" by being promoted to the position of SAC San Juan.

In 1986, after work against the Puerto Rican independence movement, the Bureau once again rewarded the man who was by now its foremost expert on political repression, this time by bringing him back to "the mainland" as SAC San Francisco. "He was being groomed for something bigger," says his former colleague of Squad 2, M Wesley Swearingen, "maybe even to eventually end up as FBI Director. But, to get there, he probably needed a couple more really solid counterintelligence coups."⁸⁷ Bari had learned more than enough. On May 22, 1991, she and Cherney filed a \$2 million suit in federal court alleging false arrest and other gross violations of their civil rights by the FBI and OPD.⁸⁸ Dennis Cunningham, a veteran of similar—and successful—litigation stemming from the Hampton-Clark assassinations in Chicago, came aboard as lead attorney.⁸⁹ Richard Wallace Held was named

personally as a prime offender.⁹⁰

Turning the tables

The process of American "justice"—by which no FBI man has ever served a minute of jail time for even the best documented violations of the rights of dissidents—moves slowly when federal law enforcement officials number among the defendants.⁹¹ Hence, it took a full year-and-a-half, until November 13, 1992, for US District Judge Eugene F Lynch to determine that there was sufficient merit to Bari's and Cherney's allegations to allow their case to proceed. The FBI, in the meantime, had argued that it could not disclose evidence in its possession to the plaintiffs "insofar as it pertains to an ongoing investigation and is thus subject to strict confidentiality until such time as the investigation is terminated."⁹² From there, it argued for a dismissal of the suit on the grounds that Bari and Cherney lacked sufficient evidence to move forward.⁹³ To all appearances, the OPD took its cues from the Bureau during this period.

Judge Lynch's belated ruling had the effect of breaching this unified stonewall to a significant extent. This forced a series of evidentiary disclosures from Oakland, including the initial reports of investigating officers and Michele Gribi's photographs.⁹⁴ The latter, of course, visually confirmed the impressions conveyed in the former: plainly, the bomb in Bari's car had been hidden beneath the seat, not on the rear floor, as SA Doyle—and, later, Lt Sims—insisted.⁹⁵

Indeed, one of the documents makes it clear that Doyle went to some lengths to use his credentials as a bludgeon with which to intimidate police investigators at the scene into either accepting his version of the bomb's placement or at least remaining quiet about contrary opinions. One policeman's affidavit explained "[I] was advised by ... FBI Agents that the bomb device was on the floor board behind the driver's seat when it detonated. [I then] spoke with FBI Special Agent Frank Doyle Jr. who told [me] that he has been assigned to the International/Domestic Terrorism Squad for the past twenty years, has been trained as a hazardous devices technician, is a police instructor in terrorism and bomb matters, and has processed approximately one hundred and fifty bombing crime scenes in the United States. Agent Doyle has testified in Federal, State and Local courts as an expert concerning bombing matters."⁹⁶

"It's kind of incredible that in the face of these photos, [the FBI and Sims' OPD unit] would have floated this lie," Dennis Cunningham noted in a press conference shortly after the material was released in May 1993.¹⁰⁰ The disclosures made it clear that the "FBI and the (Oakland) police knew exactly where the bomb had been and they deliberately lied and tried to frame us, tried to make us out as terrorists," observed Bari.¹⁰¹ All available evidence indicated his clients had been the victims of a "very sophisticated plot [by law enforcement agencies] ... planned well in advance," Cunningham concluded.¹⁰²

At about the same time as the OPD disclosures, the FBI was forced to admit that—although the statute of limitations on such an offense had by no means expired—it had closed its investigation of the bombing sev-

eral months earlier, without informing anyone, including the court.¹⁰³ Despite the fact that this action made its investigative materials subject to the same rules of disclosure governing the OPD, the Bureau continued to insist it held a vague "right" to withhold evidence at its own discretion.¹⁰⁴ Queried by reporters on the implications of this, Bari replied: "Apparently, the FBI... would rather be caught in an obvious cover-up than reveal whatever it is they are covering up."¹⁰⁵

One person who seems to have concurred in this assessment was the San Francisco SAC himself. "Not too long after Judge Lynch made his ruling—this is before we got our hands on any of the Oakland police material—Held placed a personal call to Dennis [Cunningham] and offered us a deal," Bari recounts. "He said he could get the Justice Department to drop its appeal of Lynch's ruling, which would put things on a different footing and maybe pave the way for some kind of settlement. In exchange, all he wanted us to do was drop him—just him, mind you—from the list of those named in the suit. We said no way. He seemed genuinely upset by our response. So I guess he could see the writing on a wall somewhere."¹⁰⁶

What the writing seems to have spelled was the end of a career. On May 22, 1993, citing "family reasons" as his motive, Richard Wallace Held—at 52, one the brightest stars in the FBI's galaxy—suddenly announced his early retirement at a press conference convened at the Federal Building in downtown San Francisco.¹⁰⁷ True to form, he "brushed aside questions" concerning his involvement in the lethal anti-Panther COINTELPROs of the 60s, dismissing them as "sophomoric." Equally telling, he left the Bari-Cherney matter utterly unmentioned while attempting to take credit for having "solved" the still unfolding Dario-Soto murder case in Puerto Rico. He then left to assume a position "overseeing fraud control and security at Visa International's headquarters in San Mateo," California.¹⁰⁸

Enter Congress

As it turned out, another individual who had come to share the views expressed by Bari, Cherney and their attorney was Representative Dan Hamburg, a Democrat from Ukiah. Beginning in May, while Cunningham filed a motion with Judge Lynch to prevent destruction of whatever material was in custody of the Bureau,¹⁰⁹ Hamburg went to work arranging a meeting for Bari with an aide to Representative Don Edwards, Chair of the House Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights (and himself a former FBI agent).¹¹⁰ "The idea," according to Bari, "was to convince Edwards to convene an investigation of FBI performance in our case. His subcommittee has oversight responsibility for the FBI, so it has authority to force disclosure of the evidence the Bureau has been withholding from the court."¹¹¹ On September 9, 1993, the Edwards subcommittee, after reviewing OPD material provided by the plaintiffs, announced it was initiating a "probe" into the matter.¹¹²

In December 1993 FBI files relating to the case were released. According to an Earth First! press release on December 14th "the 5,000 pages of newly released FBI documents

... show that, rather than investigating the bombing, the FBI used this case as an excuse to conduct a sweeping campaign of surveillance of environmentalists, both locally and nationally.

"Locally, this surveillance included the FBI searching the letters-to-the-editor files of nine

"The FBI and the police knew exactly where the bomb had been and they deliberately lied and tried to frame us as terrorists"

Northern California newspapers and confiscating letters from environmentalists. The FBI also interviewed small town police from the timber region, management personnel from the timber companies, and Wise Use Movement anti-environmental activists, asking them to submit names of, and information about, any and all environmentalists.

"Nationally, the FBI obtained the telephone records of fourteen Earth First! activists and compiled a list of 634 out-of-state phone calls they had made. The FBI then sent this list to their field offices around the country and obtained information on each number called, including names, addresses, physical descriptions, places of employment, criminal records, and political associations.

"The FBI files show that no legitimate search for the bomber was ever conducted. The files confirm earlier revelations that the FBI knowingly lied about the location of the bomb in the car and falsified evidence about matching nails in order to justify arresting Bari and Cherney for possession of the bomb that had been used to try to kill them. The FBI also avoided investigating leads that seem to implicate timber and police in the campaign of threats and harassment that surrounded the bombing." The case has now been taken up by the Center for Constitutional Rights, a New York-based public interest law group working on major civil rights cases. Legal Director Michael Deutsch commented "We consider this a critical case implicating repression against the environmental movement through the counter-intelligence operations of the FBI and the cooperation of the local police, local government, and private industry."

What is to be done?

Expression of "public concern" by Representative Edwards about the nature of the FBI's political policing activities have been drastically understated. It is, of course, certainly true that the performance of the Bureau and collaborating police agencies vis-a-vis the environmental movement is ample cause for alarm. The Bari-Cherney, Foreman and numerous other cases—notably the recent murder of Navajo activist Leroy Jackson in New Mexico—make this quite obvious.¹¹⁹ But by any reasonable estimation the issue holds far broader connotations.

There are, for example, many unresolved questions concerning the methods and mo-

tives underlying the FBI's massive BOSLUC operation in the Northeast, using its ostensible pursuit of the Ohio Seven as a pretext to harass and intimidate literally scores of progressive organizations in that area during the mid-1980s.¹²⁰ The same can be said of the Bureau's sustained campaign of destabilization and disruption against Committee In Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES)—and, eventually, some 200 "affiliated groups"—beginning at about the same time.¹²¹ Then there is the recent under-reported matter of FBI involvement with a "private" private political intelligence apparatus run by the 'Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith' for the past forty years, an operation which, among other things, provided information on US activists to the intelligence services of Israel and South Africa.¹²²

Relatedly, there are serious questions embedded in FBI interaction with the courts, a process which has demonstrably resulted in the consistent use of "preventive detention" (denial of bail) against selected political targets—Puerto Rican independence leader Filiberto Ojeda Rios, for example, who was incarcerated on non-capital charges for nearly six years before being acquitted by a jury of the Bureau's charges against him¹²³—and the disparate sentencing of left activists such as Susan Rosenberg and Tim Blunk.¹²⁴ And, to be sure, the question of the FBI's role in pushing forward the concept and burgeoning construction of "control unit prisons"—places like the new federal facility at Florence, Colorado, and the State of California's institution at Pelican Bay specifically designed to reduce political prisoners to "psychological jelly."¹²⁵

And, of course, there are still those like Geronimo Pratt, the New York Three and Leonard Peltier who continue to languish in cages decades after they were falsely imprisoned—in part to effect their personal neutralization, in part to serve as deterrent examples to others who might elect to confront the status quo—as part of the FBI's earlier exercises in domestic counterinsurgency.¹²⁶ Surely, the Bureau's continued withholding of evidence which might serve to exonerate them of the crimes

for which they were convicted, and the ongoing disinformation it provides their parole boards to prevent their release, should be subject to scrutiny.

Such things cannot be addressed through the sort of limited probe initiated by the Edwards subcommittee in the Bari-Cherney case. Nor will any other such investigation, or piecemeal series of investigations by the subcommittee. What is needed is a full-bore congressional review of the FBI's domestic intelligence/counterintelligence operations along the lines of that conducted by the Senate Select (Church) Committee during the mid-70s.¹²⁷ Only such a comprehensive investigation offers any real pros-



pect of putting all the pieces together, revealing at last the true dimension of political repression in the United States. Further, at least "within the system," only an undertaking of this magnitude holds any genuine potential to finally bring the national political police to heel.

To do this, any new congressional review panel will have of necessity to draw lessons from the failures of its predecessor body. It must, for instance, be empowered within the enabling legislation upon which it is constituted to assert direct access to *all* FBI records, rather than merely those the Bureau itself determines there is no alternative but to deliver. Perhaps more importantly, it must be mandated to approach its investigative responsibilities with intent to refer for prosecution those agents and officials who are exposed as having committed crimes.

Only when individuals like Richard Wallace Held are confined at long last to the cells formerly occupied by their victims can it be said that it is likely the sort of FBI conduct they represent has been curbed, or is even curbable. It is possible—just barely—that Don Edwards' intent to delve into the Bari-Cherney matter, and the FBI's attempt to thwart it, is the wedge which will open the door to such results. If his subcommittee were to do its job, this would be the case. In the event it doesn't, which is most probable, two alternatives present themselves. The first is that the political "war at home" will continue to intensify in the months and years ahead, until a bona fide "American police state" reaches its final phase of consolidation.¹²⁹ The second is that the citizenry as a whole, or some truly significant part of it, recognizes that there is no defense against this peril to be found in "due process," and takes such extraordinary measures as are needed to abolish not only the FBI, but the entities which supposedly oversee it.

• • • • • Postscript: "Bomb School" exposed

Judi Bari's case against the FBI is still in court. In January 1994 the US Appeals Court turned down the FBI's third and final attempt—for now—to throw it out. Despite the FBI's 'qualified immunity' the ruling was strongly—three to zero—in favour of Judi Bari, indicating that the Court believed that no reasonable officer could have made such a false arrest as an honest error, and that, if evidence such as the police photos were true, it was done deliberately, maliciously and with ill-intent—a definite violation of rights. The FBI declined to take it to the Supreme Court where a loss would have set a very bad precedent.

This ruling moved the case on to the 'discovery phase' which gave an opportunity to uncover further confirmation of the FBI's role in the case. When questioned under oath David R Williams, a top bomb expert who convicted the World Trade Center bombers, admitted that the car-bomb was triggered by a 'motion device'—a ball-bearing that rolls to hit two contact points. Although Williams had seen that the bomb had clearly been left under the driver's seat he failed to write a report of this fact which could have exonerated Bari. It was 'not im-

"The FBI compiled a list of 634 out-of-state phone calls the Earth First! activists had made and sent the list to field offices nationwide"

portant enough'; this despite having been specially flown all the way from Washington DC to make his examination. In what has turned increasingly into a game of 'mutual deniability' between the FBI and OPD he denied having ever said that the nails in



The photo sent anonymously to police with a note that 'Earth First recently began automatic weapons training'. Suspicion fell on the gun's owner who staged the 'gag' photo

the bomb and nails in Bari's house were from the same batch of 200-800 nails, as attributed to him in the OPD statement.

The most shocking discovery was that the leading FBI agent in the frame-up, Frank Doyle of the San Francisco Field Office's International/Domestic Terrorism Squad, had conducted a 'Bomb School' in Eureka, California just two weeks before the car-bombing. This 'Bomb School', at the 'College of the Redwood' in the heart of the Redwood region, was open only to law enforcement personnel and included Sgt Hanson, the Oakland Police's lead investigator, who had unsurprisingly deferred to the expertise of his instructor, Doyle, a fortnight later at the bomb scene.

A more sinister aspect of the 'Bomb School' training was that it included practice at blowing up cars with pipe bombs. The FBI however argue that they "were instructing people on how to handle a bomb scene, not on how to blow up a car". The course also covered incendiary bombs and during the very week of the school the Cloverdale sawmill incendiary partially exploded. Sgt Hanson denied that the incendiaries studied were of the type used at Cloverdale, but was able only to point out one small component that differed. When asked whether explosive devices had been placed inside the passenger compartments of cars, Sgt Hanson replied: "I believe a couple were. Yes." The sawmill bomb was important in falsely

linking Bari to the later car-bomb: FBI records describe Bari as a labour organiser targeting the mill's owners, the Louisiana-Pacific Corporation, and therefore the prime suspect in that bombing, and since, according to the records, it matches the later car-bomb she must again be the prime suspect for that too. The FBI bomb school was held on Louisiana-Pacific Corporation timberlands. From this new information Bari concludes that the Cloverdale bomb was a "footprint" to point to her: "two weeks before the bombing somebody planned not only to bomb me but to blame me for it. I can't be sure that it's the FBI but what I'd say about 'Bomb School' is that when faced with information like this you have two choices, you can either be a conspiracy theorist, or a coincidence theorist."

After the 'discovery phase' of the case, pre-trial motions begin—another opportunity for the FBI to stop the case—followed by the full trial. A first hearing has been put back from September 23rd 1994 to as late as May 1995. Lawyers estimate such cases to take ten years, meaning about six more for Bari's. At any point the case could be stopped on a technicality: "I have no illusions", she says, "in fact I filed this case as the only way to keep the case alive and get more information about it. We still haven't found out who bombed me and there's still nobody trying to find out". At the same time the Congressional probe, Bari's other hope, is expected to continue—after FBI stalling—with her local Congressman recently re-elected against a rightwing opponent.

Particularly surprising, and sobering, for Bari and her supporters has been a near-total press blackout extending not just to local papers, who are implicated in handing over the public's letters to the FBI, but to regional and national papers too. The main paper in the region, the *New York Times*-affiliated *Santa Rosa Press Democrat*, like others, bent over backwards over a period of months to show that the Earth Firsters were terrorists who blew themselves up. However when police photos were released showing that investigators had lied about the position of the bomb the paper was not interested; a \$2,500 half-page advert had to be bought to print the photo.

And despite the developing case and new evidence, even the left press is not interested: *The Nation* and *In these Times* both rejected stories about it. Only Alexander Cockburn dealt with the bombing, in 1990. The adoption of the case by the well-known leftwing public interest law firm, the Center for Constitutional Rights, was an important first and—according to Bari—a break with the left's continuing tradition of not taking the environmental movement seriously.

Despite the bombing, the 'Redwood Summer' went ahead as planned, attracting 3,000 protestors from across the country. There has as yet still been no serious attempt to pursue the bomber.

This is an edited version—with additional material and postscript—of an article which appeared in the very highly recommended *Covert Action Quarterly* (number 47) Address: 1500 Massachusetts Ave. NW #732, Washington, DC 20005, USA. Subscriptions \$35 for 4 issues. • Contact: Redwood Summer Justice Project, PO Box 14720, Santa Rosa, CA 95402. Tel 707 528 9042. Donations are needed to help fight the case. • Leonard Peltier Defence Committee, PO Box 583, Lawrence, Kansas, USA.

At War With Society

How the 'political police' battle against social change

The British security services depend for their funding on constantly identifying threats to the security of the state. Historically the easiest way to do this was by suggesting that organisations working for social change were secretly funded by enemy countries. Over the centuries the French, Germans and Russians have figured as being behind strikes and protest movements in Britain.

Military Intelligence 5 (MI5, or as they now prefer, the Security Service) and its police cousin Special Branch (or as it used to be titled, the Political Branch) have relied on friendly contacts in the media to help create the climate of fear and hatred that they depend on. This simplistic framework proved highly effective for justifying the funding of operations against such threats as the miners, Communist Party and CND. These 'security services' are constantly looking for new groups of people to vilify and, where possible, foreign enemies to link them with. There has been a long and largely secret struggle between a wide variety of progressive social movements and the rightwing security services.

MI5 has at its disposal 2,000 staff, possibly ten times that number of agents and, according to Stella Rimington, £150 million per annum. An organisation with these resources must be having a huge impact on British politics. This impact is magnified by the loyalty shown to them by other sections of society, particularly the media. Their access to, often unpaid, agents in the media complements their use of agents within targeted organisations. According to researcher Larry O'Hara these agents can be used to create events that the media can cover, for example by encouraging violent incidents. They also gather information such as names and addresses, set up individuals for police action or media exposure and generally create chaos. The July 1993 booklet, *The Security Service*, makes clear the importance attached to agents: "The work involves the identification, recruitment and subsequent careful direction of an individual within...target organisations". As ex-Chief Constable John Alderson says, "Political police seek to infiltrate agents and informers into all aspects

of social and political life". Rimington actually asks people to "contact us directly", and promises that "Close attention is paid to the welfare of the Service's agents".

In 1993 Rimington admitted that the collapse of the Soviet Union "has resulted in rapid changes in the service". Chief amongst these was that resources devoted to Irish terrorism "have grown substantially" to around 50% of its budget. This was bolstered by the victory over the police in October 1992 when MI5 took over from Special Branch responsibility for Irish terrorism on 'the mainland'. This victory was shortlived - despite the surprisingly large number of IRA bombings in the capital during 1993 - because of the ceasefire.

Where does this leave MI5? John Wadham of Liberty says, "There is no need for MI5 to exist". However, too many journalists, politicians and academics would be implicated were MI5's role in British politics to be publicly debated. MI5 has sought to counteract any public pressure with a publicity drive, for example Stella Rimington's June 1994 Dimpleby lecture. Clearly she wants to avoid the fate of the CIA whose head resigned in the face of massive cuts and critical publicity. A Labour election victory could seal her fate.

O'Hara alleges MI5 is stepping on the toes of Special Branch in its efforts to secure its future. Both have much to gain by exaggerating the 'threat' from small political groups. One technique is to claim that broad based movements have been 'infiltrated' by 'extremists'. As O'Hara shows, it is MI5 that has a history of infiltrating and inflaming protests using agents provocateurs and other illegal techniques. In 1993 he exposed an attempt to use an agent provocateur, Tim Hepple, against two small groups of Green radicals around *Green Anarchist* and *Green Revolution* magazines (see O'Hara's *A Lie too Far* and *At War with the Truth*).

MI5 'let bombs go off' to ensure its security role

Guardian headline October 22nd 1994

Discrediting the international animal rights movement

On November 11th 1988 dog-lover Fran Trutt was arrested in a car park whilst planting a bomb to kill Leon Hirsch, director of the animal-abusing company US Surgical. It looked like an open and shut case until it was uncovered that Trutt's co-conspirators had in fact both been working for Perceptions International, a private security company hired by US Surgical itself. Her co-conspirators had provided the crucial impetus and know-how for the bombing attempt without which it is doubtful the plan would ever have got off the ground. One of these infiltrators, Mary Lou Sapone, had even reached the position of director of the Animal Rights Alliance with little suspicion of her undercover surveillance/provocateur role.

Trutt's driver Marc Mead, it emerged, had rehearsed the whole arrest with police earlier in the day and even persuaded Trutt to phone Sapone when, en route to the target, she wanted to call off the attack. The owner of the private security company which entrapped Trutt has boasted of his links with the CIA.

By 1990, in Britain, animal rights activism had won widespread public acceptance. However, in June of that year a sophisticated car-bomb exploded under a vehicle belonging to Dr Max Headley, a Bristol University researcher. A 13-month-old baby nearby was injured. The bombing which has never been claimed by the ALF or anyone else, received massive media coverage. This put the ALF and radical animal rights firmly back on the 'extremist' fringes of British politics. The bombing also provided a convenient pretext for widespread questioning and arrests of innocent activists up and down the country. ALF press officer Robin Webb continues to experience police harassment including the recent 'discovery' of a shotgun in his car. If the secret state succeeds in ending his lynchpin role then the radical animal rights movement will be fragmented, frustrated and far easier to infiltrate, manipulate and misrepresent in the media.

The media's sudden blanket coverage of animal rights protests at Shoreham and elsewhere in early 1995 highlights the increasing focus of the secret state on animal rights campaigners, as outlined in Special Branch's recently 'leaked' guidelines.

4 TODAY Monday November 14 1994

Right-wing 'secret police' threat

by KIM SENGUPTA

A FORMER chief constable launched a blunt assault on British intelligence services yesterday.

John Alderson, ex-head of the Devon and Cornwall force, warned that MI5 could turn into a secret police force.

And he fears their "right-wing" agents could threaten democracy by spying on ordinary people.

"Someone has to point out the dangers," he said yesterday.

"This is a very worrying situation."

Mr Alderson believes MI5 and MI6 will look for new roles now the Cold War is

over and IRA leaders have agreed to a ceasefire. MI5 boss Stella Rimington is already pressing for her service to take over civil intelligence.

That would give her agents access to the private details of millions of ordinary citizens.

Speaking from his Devon home, Mr Alderson said: "She pretends that her service is now totally open and everything is above board."

"But, of course, that is not in any way the police's

point. What we could end up with is a secret police force."

"We have the additional problem that a lot of people in MI5 are right-wing by nature. They have always regarded the left as a threat."

Stella Rimington is well aware of the work done against the unions and left-wing groups by MI5.

"This could be a future source of problems for a Labour government if MI5 are given an enormous amount of new power."

Smears against green radicals are continuing. In a front-page article entitled "Crackdown on green terrorists" (*Independent* 29/12/94) John Howley, head of Special Branch, told Crime Correspondent Jason Bennetto that "There are a lot of people concerned about the environment... We are primarily concerned about the extremists, those who for example put bombs under cars". This is a new and outrageous insinuation without any supporting evidence. How long before a British Judi Bari is set-up to make this true? The article describes how "...green activists are to be targeted by Special Branch" as a new priority. Howley gives as examples of recent green activism the anti-roads protests at Twyford Down and the M-11 link. Groups highlighted in the article were the Freedom Network, *Green Anarchist* and the Environmental (sic: *Earth*) Liberation Front.

In the following edited excerpt from his new book, *Turning Up The Heat: MI5 After The Cold War*, O'Hara details what he sees as a growing campaign using the media against Earth First! UK (EF!) and the Earth Liberation Front (ELF). The book also contains details of alleged operations against the far left, far right, Ulster Loyalists, Meibion Glyndwr, the Scottish National Liberation Army and the ALF.

O'Hara predicted that MI5 was seeking to replace the original leadership in the violent neo-Nazi group C18 with its own agents. In January 1995 some of the old leadership were arrested in a series of raids, exactly as he had predicted. No less disturbing is his contention that US neo-Nazi Harold Covington, who is intimately involved with C18, might be an FBI asset. He hopes *Turning up the Heat* will prevent other entrapment operations from proceeding. O'Hara plans to publish further details of MI5 and Special Branch provocateurs in the future.

The Big Secret

How perceptions have changed! In *Leveller* 51 (a defunct investigative/left magazine), March 1981, there was this snippet: "Why all the fuss about the Panorama programme on British Intelligence? Eventually there was just one cut—Gordon Winter, Boss [South African Secret Service] agent, former freelance journalist, in a pre-title sequence: 'British intelligence has a saying that if there is a left-wing movement in Britain bigger than a football team our man is the captain or vice captain, and if not, he is the referee and he can send any man off the field and call our man on at any time he likes.' Dangerous stuff, eh?"

Which missed the point. If this was the one thing the spooks did not want broadcast, we had better pay attention to it. And if we don't see it as important, it is we who are mistaken. In 1981 I agreed with the anonymous columnist in the *Leveller*, but now I see exactly why they wanted this bit cut: the covert role of the intelligence and security services in British politics is the big secret.

Robin Ramsay, *Lobster* 26, December 1993.

At War with the Greens

The current phase of targeting radical Greens began with a particularly nasty piece in the London *Evening Standard* (15/10/92) which investigated the growth of 'militant groups in the capital'. The author Paul Charman wrote that "security experts are also concerned about the dramatic rise in the number of 'New Age' groups on the fringes of the Green movement who are prepared to use terror in support of animal rights and ecology issues". Earth First!, an entirely peaceful group committed to 'non-violent direct action' (see preceding article on FBI operations against US Earth First!) in all circumstances, was described as an "assemblage of outcast 'Greens'", and he informed us that "some of the more extreme activists are thought to operate in 'underground' cells". The address and photograph of the then office for Earth First! Action Update was printed, sandwiched between that for the neo-Nazi Blood & Honour network and helpful advice from Charman to readers: "as well as expressing sympathy or support for terrorist activity, they (EF!) are also potential targets for attacks from rival groups". This theme was returned to again in the *Evening Standard* (10/12/93) in an article by Tony Maguire, commenting on 'growing support' for ELF cells. This article cleverly interweaved Earth First! and the ethical shop-lifting group CRISP with the ELF so giving a false impression of the difference in outlook between these groups. The utter devastation wrought upon Twyford Down by the incessant road building programme, and the damage being done elsewhere in the undisclosed attempt to build a whole new network of motorways to lead from the channel tunnel to the whole country, means anti-roads protesters aren't going to go away. Hitherto, the state has made heavy use of private security forms (such as Brays Detective Agency & Group 4) for surveillance and other purposes (*Daily Telegraph* 27/2/93).

The increasing self-awareness of some protesters has led to a burgeoning political consciousness (for example "To be or not to be paranoid" by Annette Tibbles in *Do Or Die* 1994) which quite rightly worries the state, and the road-builders. An especially interesting development has been the anonymous publication of one issue (Spring 1994) of a magazine called *Terra-ist*. The editorial sharply differentiates the magazine from Earth First!, being more in sympathy with the line of the ELF which was born during direct action at Twyford Down. The *Terra-ist* is well aware of the need for proper security, something lost on many in the Green movement, rightly criticising Earth First! for listing home addresses as contact points - the article by Charman above clearly shows the dangers of doing this. Sympathy for the street tactics of Anti-Fascist Action is openly expressed, and all in all this strand of consciousness is a quantum leap in terms of the Green movement. Similarly, a leaflet anonymously distributed to advertise the occasional 'Earth Nights', whereby the ELF asks supporters to inflict economic sabotage against the "forces of reaction" is equally interested in a wide front of struggle, calling for

a "broad alliance of environmental, animal liberation, worker, anti-fascist and revolutionary groups". An individual alleged to be behind the distribution address for *Terra-ist*, was targeted in the *Sunday Times* by John Harlow. Harlow openly admitted that he received the information from Special Branch.

This then is the background to the current state of play vis-a-vis radical Green activists. The state has been busy attempting to crush, distort and manipulate such initiatives. The most simple form this has taken is the spreading of lies and general disinformation about the tactics of the anti-road movement. Follow-

ing Point all contribute to a mature and resilient structure. ELF actions are covered, especially in *Green Anarchist*, but there has not been a tangible support structure.

It is into this breach that state agents have sought to enter. The first of note was Tim Hepple whose activities I have already written about (see *A Lie Too Far* and *At War With The Truth*). Here for the first time I alert readers to another fascist, this time with no apparent connections to *Searchlight* (unlike Tim Hepple), but whose actions and agenda seem to be very close to MI5's and whose trajectory and methodology—inciting violence and causing disruption wherever he goes, especially in the animal rights movement—seems to parallel almost exactly that of Hepple. Much more will be said of this person—Stuart McCullough of the International Third Position—elsewhere, but one thing can be revealed now. Running back to his now-defunct Belfast PO Box 432, Stuart McCullough, and others, actually set up a dummy ELF mailing address, BM ELF, London WC1N 3XX. This, the ELF, is an organisation (and a cause) McCullough had previously never shown any interest in at all, and the setting up of a dummy group would seem to perfectly fit the 'pseudo gang' model which is part of the standard approach for anti-terrorist operations. It is fascinating that when virtually no fascists have ever even heard of the ELF he should seek to set one up, even going to the extent of producing bogus leaflets.

Even if the ELF now has a prisoner support group, its necessarily ethereal nature means that all sorts of lies, fitting in with state agendas, are being disseminated about it. A particularly outrageous, but wholly logical step, is the story that another journalist with connections to Special Branch recently suggested the homeless campaign magazine the *Big Issue* cover. This posited links between ecotage (ecological sabotage) and Combat 18! The suggestion of such links fits in with MI5 and Special Branch's agenda. Their number one goal is not the protection of Parliamentary Democracy but the survival of their own organisations. To do this they encourage political violence and, to provide cover for their activities, create as much complexity and confusion as possible using agents both in the media and on the ground, as well as under it.

All of this is intended to culminate in acts of violence similar to the bombing of Judi Bari (see previous article) to focus media, and politicians', attention hopefully then ensuring continued survival of funding for more operations. You have been warned: the struggle continues.

Larry O'Hara

Publications by Larry O'Hara

Turning up the Heat: MI5 after the Cold War (Phoenix Press, 1994). Cost £6 (inc p&p).

A Lie too Far: Searchlight, Hepple and the Left £1.80 (inc p&p).

At War With the Truth: The true story of Searchlight agent Tim Hepple. £2 (inc p&p).

Cheques in pounds sterling and IMOs payable to Larry O'Hara c/o BM Box 4769, London WC1N 3XX. Larry O'Hara welcomes interesting and useful correspondence and is seeking video copies of 'Between the Lines'.

Contacts:

ELP (Earth Liberation Prisoners) c/o PO Box 23, 5 High St, Glastonbury, Somerset. *Arkangel* — for Animal Liberation: BCM 9240, London WC1N 3XX (Sub £7.20/£6 unwaged for 4 issues). *ALF Supporters Group Newsletter*, BCM 1160, London WC1N 3XX (£1/bi-monthly). *Turning Point*, PO Box 45, Northolt, Middx UB8 6SZ (£1.50/issue, bi-monthly). *ANC News*, c/o PO Box 155, Manchester M40 1FT (free with SAE). Reports of local activities and list of events.



ing on from a fairy-story in *Construction News* (30/6/94) falsely alleging 'man-traps' had been set by anti-road protesters, John Harlow wrote a much-criticised article in the *Sunday Times* entitled 'Green Guerrillas booby-trap sites' (3/7/94). This sought to transfer the blame for violence at road-sites onto the victims, and contained specious attacks on the ELF, quoting a Group 4 employee as describing "strong links between urban anarchists such as *Class War* and the ELF". The article brought about a furious response from anti-roads groups. Given the amount of public support they have, Earth First!, and the No M-11 Campaign may get somewhere with the Press Complaints Commission: my personal experience suggests they will not.

Propaganda has by no means been the only mode of secret state operation. Placing agents inside groups for entrapment purposes has become a priority as has the setting up phantom groups, or 'pseudo-gangs' to use the terminology of Brigadier Frank Kitson, ex-commander of the British army in Northern Ireland.

Until recently, before the Earth Liberation Prisoners Support Network was set up, there was a window of opportunity for state assets. Up until then the ELF did not have a tangible support structure making it easy for the state to manipulate. Like the ALF the ELF has an underground cell structure. However the ALF has survived because it has a recognised official (but non-operational) spokesperson in the form of Robin Webb, who though not connected with illegal activity in any way (despite attempts to frame him) can nevertheless knowledgeably comment on and speculate about any animal right actions carried out. The animal rights movement also has two excellent publications, *Arkangel* and the *ALF Support Group Newsletter* which have proved resilient to repeated police raids. A wider set of organisations and magazines such as *Turn-*

Green self, Green society

Cynog Dafis MP was elected on a Plaid Cymru/Green Party ticket in one of the 1992 election's biggest surprises. What was in the political programme you helped him put together?

Remember that this was a local alliance between the two constituency parties. We formulated a programme tailored to local needs, but there is nothing in it than runs counter to the policies of either of the national parties. It was and is a classical radical green recipe for a disempowered and impoverished region: an individual, co-operative and community entrepreneurial response, to be backed by a strong, resurgent local government and an adequate public service infrastructure. We highlighted the rich potential of West Wales in renewable energy, sustainable forestry, organic farming and green, small-scale tourism. Local economic self-reliance and community empowerment were presented in the UK and global context, as a means of improving the quality of life of all of our people and of nurturing our distinctive way of life and the Welsh language which depends on it.

How much of this programme has been successfully put into practice?

At the Westminster end Cynog has been recognised as a first-rate green MP by English greens originally opposed to our alliance. His work with Green Party campaigner Ron Bailey on the Energy Conservation Bill is well known, and they've already started work on a Road Traffic Bill. Back in Ceredigion our next big push will be to win control of the new unitary county in 1995, with a team of Green and Plaid Cymru councillors armed with a programme to make local government do things the Tories never intended. Campaigning groups on renewable energy, healthcare, and clean water have already made an impact, and they are now being joined by four new 'shadow committees' (environment, planning, education, and social services). Ceredigion Greens weren't allowed to try for a deal with Plaid Cymru over the Euro-election, which is an all-Wales matter. However, our joint campaign committee continues to meet monthly. They're great people to work with.

Is a Welsh Parliament an important goal for you or do you focus more on grass-roots areas?

The two are mutually supportive. Wales now has a largely separate government administration, headed by a veritable governor-general ruling through a network of quangos filled with Tory placemen (yes, they're mainly men!). There is now a majority in Wales for a revenue-raising, legislative Parliament, and this can only be a matter of time. It is the keystone of our policy, heading a green Welsh confederation drawing

strength from a Europe of the Regions.

Many people are afraid that regionalist parties harbour xenophobic attitudes—

"A steady state economy needs a steady state society, and that will depend on steady state people"

is Plaid Cymru free of this type of nationalism?

The radical green perspective has always



Paul M Thomas

"The decentralist libertarian socialist tradition is the only acceptable radical alternative"

been one of confederally-linked small nations, regions and human-scale communities. The alternative is the transnational 'level playing field' of free trade, subordinate and marginalised peoples, an alienated individualism—and truculent surviving 'nation-states' like Great Britain. So, isn't the problem about how best to nurture an inclusive, enriching cultural/small-scale nationalism instead of the violent, exclusive, ethnic kind? Racists of any kind get short shrift in Plaid Cymru. But could English readers please try to imagine what it is like to live in a small country whose national identity, language, distinctive way of life and what's left of its economy are being overwhelmed by what we see as the bland, anonymous consumer culture of our overpowering and dis-

INTERVIEW

Though inspired by the Green Party's political success in Wales, Ken Jones, author of *Beyond Optimism*, explains that green radicals themselves may be their own worst enemies, unwilling to confront inner tendencies towards fundamentalism and ideology

empowering neighbour.

How has your book been influenced by your experience in Wales?

It's been an important experience personally, but has only marginally influenced the book. A valuable positive experience has been that of winning with a visionary politics which is nevertheless realistic and down-to-earth. We've also developed an inclusive, grown-up kind of politics in place of the confrontational rubbishing style of our opponents, and this has won us a lot of respect. And the taste of so much fresh, live and locally-grown idealism reminds me of the Sixties. Why do radical movements keep tripping themselves up and selling themselves short? I wrote *Beyond Optimism* to try and sort out my answer. On the debit side in Wales I'm afraid that my arguments about green fundamentalism are being confirmed on my own doorstep. I believe green politics can find strength in diversity and flexibility: same policy everywhere, but freedom to adapt strategy to local situations. In fact leading members of Wales Green Party have all along been quite virulently hostile to what we have been doing in Ceredigion and seem determined to strangle it.

In his foreword Jonathon Porritt writes that the 'eco-social liberation' you propose is based on libertarian socialism which the Labour Party has long since forgotten, and which the green movement needs to rediscover if it is to have the intellectual rigour needed to promote political transformation. Do you agree?

The decentralist libertarian socialist tradition is the only acceptable radical alternative that we now have that could make a good fit with the imperatives of a steady state ecologically sustainable economy. Unfortunately it is a tradition that tends in theory to romantic utopianism and in practice to a quarrelsome fundamentalism. My book is an attempt to make that tradition more credible and serviceable. And since it would much reduce the role of both market and state, its practicability depends very much upon the kind of people we are — or could become. That's why I put as much emphasis on the inner work of developing self-awareness as on the campaigning outer work. A steady state economy needs a steady state society, and that will depend on steady state people. So far the Green parties and kindred radical movements have hardly been an advertisement for steady state people, have they?

You focus on barriers that block the effectiveness of many radical movements and in particular the psychological ones; what are they?

Yes, my basic contention is that there is something profoundly insecure about our

human condition itself which, individually and collectively, we try to cover over with belongingness, self-confirming achievement and similar mentalities and behaviours. For example, the theories which movements for radical change need to have about the world become to some extent dogmatic ideologies which throw more light on the mentality of their adherents than on the social phenomena 'out there'. So busy are they fighting for a better world that they don't realise that they themselves are also part of the problem. However, the book is about much more than this, with plenty of analysis of our eco-social situation and strategies for responding to it. And the wide ranging review of our assets, from red-greens to eco-feminists is, I think, unusual.

Amongst other things you call for ideological disarmament. What is this?

My book contains checklists to help a group undertake an ideological audit aimed at increasing the effectiveness of the organisation and making it a more fulfilling environment in which to work. As well as an open, up-front agenda, groups and movements, as well as individuals, run on largely hidden subjective agendas which commonly lead to frustration, destructive conflict and burn-out, as well as to objective failure because the world is different from how the movement badly needs to see it.

How could people get into the 'inner work'?

In my experience you need to get to the end of the line as an activist before disillusion and frustration compels you to begin to explore where all this stuff is coming from, and why we can't do better. It took me half a lifetime to get to that point, and I'm sure most of my readers can get round to it quicker... Different people will find different ways of developing this self awareness, alone and in groups. Some will go for psychotherapeutic strategies, and others for more traditional spiritual paths. Unfortunately many of the latter are not as accessible as they could be for someone coming from an activist secular background, hence the particular concern in my book to demystify spirituality a bit and make it more approachable for those readers. In fact, Fritz Schumacher and oth-

er greens have found that a regular, simple awareness meditation can keep you very much in touch, as is explained in my book.

Isn't this impracticable and won't it lead to quietism and non-involvement?

Not at all. Working on our minds could surely become as fashionable as looking after our bodies is already. It's not too difficult to imagine the day when every serious campaigner would have the habit of a regular 'work in' to maintain awareness of how she was experiencing things and acting out in the world. As to quietism, this is just the opposite to the problem of the activist junkie fixated on changing the world in double quick time. Both such fervent attachments are part of the problem. If you don't have to cling for dear life to being either a mystic or a militant, then you are freed just cheerfully to doing your best with as much awareness as you can open to. That's really all it's about! What we are short of is passionate moderates, radical conservatives, reasonable revolutionaries and temperate extremists.

How does the New Age movement fit in with your idea of inner work?

Not as much as I would like. I find too much of an all-singing, all-dancing fast food spirituality that tends to be superficial, self-indulgent and socially quietistic. Nevertheless, there are places in the movement where serious inner work is going on and where there is at least some potential for helpful input to the movement for radical eco-social change.

What are the major instances of ideology that you've seen in the green movement?

All ideology solidifies useful contingent ideas into articles of faith: small is believed to be invariably beautiful, traditional cultures are idealised without reservation, and bioregionalism, decentralisation and other useful green notions are treated as cure-alls. If you're not green then you must be grey. Beware of working too closely with those

"It tends in theory to romantic utopianism and in practice to a quarrelsome fundamentalism"

grey people, lest they steal our ideas; better to fight 'em! And even half a mile of tarmac, no matter how good the reason, can arouse an outburst from the green fundamentalist so violent that it's clearly coming from somewhere beyond just concern about road building? In fact there is as much intolerant rage in the green movement as there ever was in the peace or socialist movements. For the dogmas of ideology are no more than the flimsy intellectual front for an awful lot of very personal fear and anger.

You characterise 'anti-modern' greens like Edward Goldsmith as romantic and paternalistic authoritarians but you yourself are critical of modern restless hyper-individualism. Do you advocate limits on personal freedoms such as privacy and mobility to help foster a return to community?

Ecological imperatives, plus the social imperatives needed to hold together a steady state economy, inevitably emphasise responsibilities at least as much as rights. For example, they require us to limit our offspring to one or none, to give up the right to travel wherever we fancy, and to work away at conflict resolution and mediation rather than simply going all out to win. Hence some kind of authoritarianism is, I fear, the most likely response to deepening ecological crisis. The only alternative to such a super state is that we become the kind of people who are better able to live and work together, and we shan't be able to do that simply by thinking harder about green values. We can get some help, however, by rebuilding real communities where-

in reciprocal duties and obligations confirm our social worth rather than being experienced as attacks on our personal liberty.

"Groups and movements, as well as individuals, run on largely hidden subjective agendas which commonly lead to frustration, destructive conflict and burn out, as well as to objective failure"

What kind of political activity do you now feel is most fruitful?

Be clear about the general direction in which you believe we should be travelling, but without allowing yourself to get drunk on utopias. Look where your feet are now and get started on realistic projects of a kind which you really like doing (rather than what you think you ought to be doing). Join with a bunch of people with whom it'll be great to hang out when the going gets tough. But please don't do as I did and waste too much of your life investing yourself in movements which no longer deserve such single minded loyalty. Walk tall as your own woman or man, without the crutch of a Big Idea. And the bottom line is inner work which can make us so unshakeably at peace in ourselves that we are truly free to be of use to others.

Activism and integrity

I have spent years in politics working with people who said all the right things, but whom I would not trust to cut my lawn because they are so deeply frustrated, angry and resentful. I cannot remember how many times I have sat in meetings with people who talked about saving the human race but whom I found it very hard to like or to trust. They seemed to be operating on the basis of anger, hatred, frustration, resentment, all the wrong motivations. Many were in terrible marriages, their home lives were miserable.

In the 60s and 70s (and in some activist circles it hasn't changed much since), when the meetings finished and the heavy talk was done about saving the world, the men left and the women had to clean up. It wasn't

long before women in radical groups had had enough; they'd had enough of the shit work. If your politics doesn't begin right here in this relationship with me, your lover, your wife, your girlfriend, they said, how can we trust you to save the world.

I've come to recognise that their self discovery is a maturing process in everybody's life, and if people don't have the chance to do it then life is going to be sad and tragic. I'm therefore willing to be patient with people while they work these issues out on the grounds that I feel that the more people become fully realised human beings, the better they do in politics.

Theodore Roszak, "Have we learned anything Important", *Self and Society*, (11/93).

• *Beyond Optimism - A Buddhist Political Ecology* by Ken Jones, 1993, John Carpenter Publishing, PO Box 129, Oxford OX1 4PH, 212 pages, £9.99.

• *Strong Lessons for Engaged Buddhists*
A short left/situationist critique of politically-engaged Buddhism, available from Ken Knabb/Bureau of Public Secrets, PO Box 1044, Berkeley, CA 94701. Or from *Open Eye*: send stamped sae plus 2nd class stamp. Hard-hitting but not wholly unsympathetic.



Reviews

A Red-Green Let-down

ECO-SOCIALISM
FROM DEEP ECOLOGY TO
SOCIAL JUSTICE
David Pepper

(London, Routledge 1993, pp 266,
£10.99)

Reviewed by John Morrissey

The overlap between Green and Red is potentially fertile political territory. It is occupied by those socialists who reject both the seductive revisionism of the Labour Party 'modernisers' and the obsolete dogmas of the far left revolutionary groups. Very similar ground is inhabited by those Greens who reject not only market solutions based on 'green consumerism' and environmental taxation but also new age mysticism and belief in the need for 'deindustrialisation'. But attempts to build a Red-Green politics have not got very far. A weighty contribution by David Pepper therefore deserves to be taken seriously.

Eco-socialism is a learned and highly theoretical work. Pepper is a Principal Lecturer in Geography at Oxford Brookes University and an orthodox Marxist. However, his ostensible aim is not to claim Green territory for Marxism, but to define the theoretical basis for an eco-socialism which combines the best of both traditions. Unfortunately he fails, precisely because he remains imprisoned in the orthodox Marxist approach. Pepper is from the outset persuaded that orthodox Marxism already holds the answers. He declares, breathtakingly, that "a communist society cannot, by definition, be ecologically unsound". For one attempting a synthesis of Marxism and Green politics, this is not the most promising of positions.

David Pepper does not, it seems, like Greens very much. They are accused of "incoherence, millenarianism and utopianism" and later of "vagueness, incoherence, woolly-mindedness and occasional vapidness." He is concerned throughout not to explore common ground, but to emphasise the differences between Greens and socialists. "There is similarity, there is correspondence" he concedes "but it is not that close, and the gap may not be easy to jump."

He introduces his defence of Marxism by demonstrating that Green politics is not,

despite the claims of some prominent spokespersons, a clean break with all previous political traditions. Green politics may well have started from new premisses and concerns, namely an awareness of urgent environmental crisis. But its evolution demanded that it engage with issues not directly relevant to the natural environment. Greens therefore drew eclectically from various existing political traditions, but mostly from anarchism. So, although some descriptive elements in Green politics may be new, its prescriptive elements are not. I am not going to take issue with that.

Having correctly identified Greens as anarchists, Pepper is now on familiar ground, rehearsing the longstanding feud between anarchists and Marxists. A distinctive feature of his method is the use of neat tables, detailing, for example, how different political philosophies relate to environmentalism. But this technique of classification only emphasises his determination to seek out difference, not explore similarity.

The major part of *Eco-socialism* is taken up by analyses of Marxism and anarchism, and their relevance to the issues raised by ecologists. His 93-page section on "the Marxist perspective on nature and environmentalism" is the work of an expert scholar. For students of politics, it alone almost justifies the purchase price.

Many of his arguments are persuasive. Despite its recent battering, Marxist socio-analysis still provides convincing explanations of poverty, exploitation and environmental destruction. These things have not just happened. Nor are they the result of human stupidity or lack of understanding, as many Greens seem to believe. They are the inevitable and intended consequences of capitalism. Capitalism cannot be 'greened' by well-intentioned interventions in the free market, or by better-educated consumers behaving more 'responsibly'. Capitalism cannot be reformed, it must be abolished. A Green approach is necessarily a socialist approach. I am not going to take issue with that judgment either.

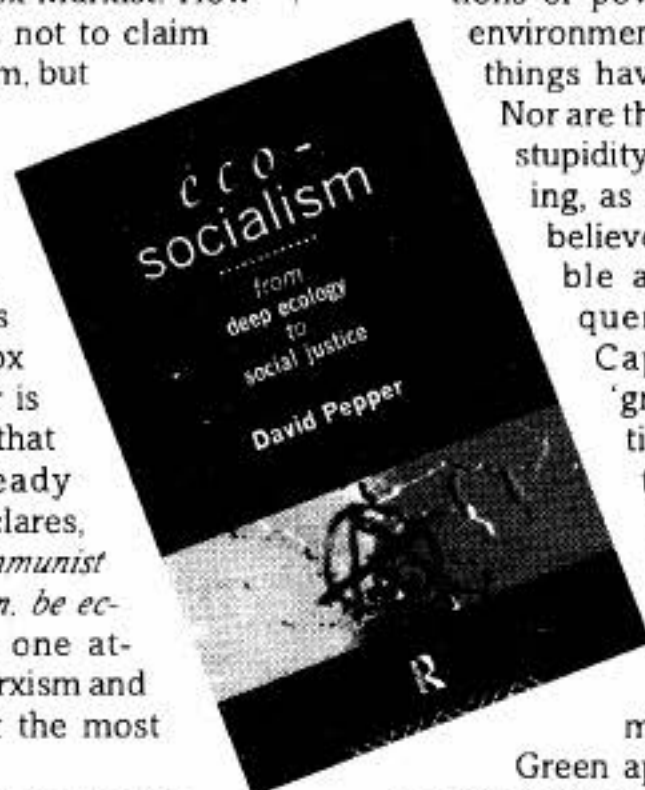
His section on anarchism is more critical, but equally useful. But again Pepper is more concerned to demonstrate the differences between Marxist and anarchist theories and practices than the correspondences. The table listing these disparities fills one and a half pages. Anarchists and Marxists certainly have found plenty to argue about, especially the role of the state. But they start from not dissimilar analyses, and have fairly coincident objectives. Furthermore, the differ-

ences between Marxists and anarchists are less wide than the differences within those traditions. As Pepper admits, anarcho-syndicalism is pretty close to some forms of revolutionary socialism, whereas it is a long way from the latter to social democracy, and from the former to extreme forms of libertarian individualism.

Pepper's commitment to orthodox Marxism extends even to an unwillingness to apologise for Marxism's historical record. He dismisses the picture of Marxism as an "inhumane, totalitarian, inefficient nightmare" as "bourgeois misrepresentation." Greens find ample justification for rejecting Marxism in the environmental crimes of previously existing socialism. Pepper dismisses these as merely "debatably relevant." But any attempt to build a Green socialism must take as its starting point the historical fact that what orthodox Marxism promised in theory it failed to deliver in practice. At best that ideology yielded a drab inefficient bureaucratic state; at worst it provided the opportunities for evil men to pursue evil ends by evil means.

Theory can only take us so far. Marx had his priorities clear: "The philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it." But Pepper's section on "eco-socialism in practice" is a mere nine pages long. It is precisely this delinking of theory from practice which enables him to ignore Marxism's disastrous historical record. Never mind the human cost, it looks good on paper. The historic failure of Marxism even suggests that it may now be a mistake to theorise on such a grand scale at all. Or that if we must, then we need to understand that all knowledge is fragmentary and incomplete, that some things are in principle unknowable, and that all grand theories must be handled with extreme caution. I am a Green socialist, and by Heilbroner's definition, which Pepper accepts, I am probably a Marxist too. Many clues to the causes of, and the solutions to, the ecological crisis can be found in the Marxist tradition. Indeed, we are unlikely to discover those solutions without a creative reappraisal of Marxism, anarchism and much else besides. Pepper has attempted to contribute to that reappraisal, but has delivered instead an apologia for orthodox Marxism. That defence is robust, learned and frequently persuasive, but it is not an exploration of Red-Green politics. *Eco-socialism* expects Greens to give up a great deal of hardwon territory whilst conceding very little Marxist ground indeed. But we are unlikely to build a Red-Green politics if one ideology, now badly tattered, is deemed to hold the field from the outset.

In their desire to appear 'new', Greens have consistently ignored the origins of their movement in anarchism and libertarian socialism. They wish to be "not right, not left, but ahead." As the fabric of Western civilisation unravels, and Europe descends into atavism and tribalism, the fatuity of that position is demonstrated even more brutally. Greens are not above the battle, and the natural allies of Green politics are on the left. Regrettably, *Eco-socialism* will not contribute greatly to building such alliances. In his anxiety to rehabilitate orthodox Marxism,



David Pepper has delivered a scholarly but unhelpful and divisive book. Green socialists, myself included, are disappointed.

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Government needs 'terrorism'

BEYOND TERRORISM

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
AUSTRALIAN SECURITY STATE

Jenny Hocking

Allen & Unwin, 1993, \$Aus 24.95, pp 236

Reviewed by Val Plumwood.

Few atrocities arouse as much revulsion as those counted as "terrorism". Unlike the collective and anonymous casualties in the vast and distant calamity of war, the terrorist's victims come home to us in media coverage in all their particularity and immediacy, as individuals like ourselves cut down as they go about the same small tasks of daily life.

It is difficult to ignore the collective political context of war, but easy to delete that of the individual terrorist; in its absence, the act takes on a special quality of horror, irrationality and unpredictability. The terrorist as evil Other is poised to strike at random into individual lives, evoking the "existential dread" of the collapse of civilisation itself.

Although the moral difference between killing innocent civilians with car bombs and killing them with Tomahawk missiles has never been made clear, the special combination of immediacy and horror makes the terrorist imaginary a potent tool for manipulating public opinion.

As Jenny Hocking's well-researched account shows, the terrorist imaginary has done sterling service as the major justifying and organising rationale for security services over the last two decades in Australia and elsewhere. Hocking's book presents a detailed history of its development in Australia and gives the best critical discussion to date of its effects on our society and the direction of security organisations.

Beyond Terrorism is an essential update for civil libertarians and democrats, for those on the Left who still mutter darkly in corners about ASIO (Australian Security Intelligence Organisation), and for innocents who wonder why counter-intelligence does not wither away with the ending of the Cold War. *Beyond Terrorism* shows how military, intelligence and policing models have merged to create a hybrid of domestic security policing that is at once more routine and more sinister.

The counter-terrorism model provides not only a rationale for expanding security organisations while shedding accountability, but an all-weather guarantee of the need for their services. A terrorist incident (and if no such incident occurs naturally, one can always be manufactured) provides the pretext for rapid reorganisation of ailing intelligence units into paramilitary security organisations that bring the function of surveillance more directly together with the function of military-style response. (The creation of the Australian Federal Police and other counter-terrorist organisations in the wake of the Hilton bombing provides an example of this).

If terrorism persistently fails to appear thereafter, this can be said to show that the huge outlay on counter-terrorist organisation has been effective in "keeping Australia free from the horrors of international terrorism".

These advantages help explain why the terrorism model replaced the less durable "communist threat" ("subversion") model as the mainstay of security services even before the ending of the Cold War. This shift has occurred even in countries like Australia where, as Joan Coxedge remarks, the terrorist threat to the safety of the average citizen is considerably less than that posed by the proverbial redback on the toilet seat.

There has been much speculation about the role of the security services in the event that cemented the counter-terrorism model in position: the Hilton bombing. Hocking marshals evidence that points strongly to security service involvement in Australia's only major episode of terrorism.

Beyond Terrorism adds greatly to the strong case for a broad-ranging inquiry into Australia's security and counter-terrorist network. The bombing saved the day for security services at a time when they were threatened by the major pressures for review begun by the Labour Government of the 1970s. The bomb, Hocking suggests, was meant to be discovered, not detonated, but the bombing still achieved its organisational objectives. Just what those objectives mean for political freedom in Australia is clearly explained for the first time in Hocking's book.

Hocking's skilful analysis of the concept of terrorism show how the counter-terrorism model fosters militarised policing and thinking about dissent. According to key British consultant Sir Robert Mark, whose report after the Hilton bombing was the blueprint for the formation of the AFP (Australian Federal Police), politically motivated violence is "the worst crime in the book". By focusing on political motivation for violence and branding it as the ultimate evil, the model can justify widespread political surveillance and help to problematise dissent via the easy conceptual slide from "political protest" to "politically motivated violence" to "terrorism". Once "political motivation" has been demonised, any hint of violence at a political protest (and both "violence" and "terrorism" are highly elastic, contested and political terms) can be used to vindicate an extreme paramilitary response. And in the absence of international terrorists the model can create a demand to find local "terror-

ists".

It is disturbing in this context that the label "terrorist" and similar militarised descriptions ("guerrilla groups") have been freely applied recently to political protesters, most notably by members of the strongly counter-terrorist orientated AFP at Aidex (Australian International Defence Exhibition).

Gulf War style "media-management"—as Hocking shows, a notably effective and widely adopted feature of Mark's model—aims the labelling of political protesters as "violent". It is a paradoxical feature of the model that its application to suppress political protest and create social rigidity brings about the very violence it claims to prevent. Political violence is typically pursued in rigid political contexts as a desperate way of entering demands that a more open and responsive policy can discuss and negotiate.

Just as the intelligence gathering functions of the old spy networks have been increasingly normalised under the counter-terrorism model as part of ordinary policing, so the special squads that have become a routine feature of both ordinary police work and political protests in Australia in the last decade have normalised a paramilitary response. Such squads have been implicated in racist violence both here and in the United States.

Hocking notes that the difference between military, police, and intelligence units becomes increasingly blurred as paramilitary policing collapses the crucial distinction between the domestic, civil police strategy of minimum force and the external, military strategy of maximum force.

The real threat in the Australian context is posed not by the isolated terrorist incident but by the manipulation of the terrorist imaginary as a threat to democracy, as measures of control that have no place in a free society are introduced as exceptional and gradually installed as normal. A social body so policed has not only lost its freedom but has learned to confuse the weight of its chains with the force of gravity.

Val Plumwood's most recent book, *Feminism and the Mastery of Nature* is published by Routledge. Review reprinted from the *Canberra Times*.

Paradigm Police: a New Inquisition?

FORBIDDEN SCIENCE

SUPPRESSED RESEARCH THAT
COULD CHANGE OUR LIVES

Richard Milton

Fourth Estate, 1994, hbk, £14.99, pp 264

This timely and interesting book sheds light on many of the areas of research which are deemed off-limits by increasingly assertive 'guardians' of science: a self-appointed new 'priestly caste' who, according to the author,

decide the scope of heresy and taboo in science. Subjects covered include preventative/alternative

medicine, bioenergy, Kirlian photography, cold fusion, parapsychology, acupuncture and astrology. Discussions of the paradigm police's treatment of Immanuel Velikovsky and Uri Geller, two of the most controversial scientific 'heretics', are especially

illuminating. Others include Wilhelm Reich and Rupert Sheldrake.

Milton has a lot of time for the amateurs, derided loners, eccentrics and non-scientists who, he argues, have provided us with a disproportionate number of the scientific innovations and findings that we value today. On the other hand the £5000 million a year of public funds spent on scientific research—with little public oversight at all—provides a stark contrast with its lack of results. Medical science and the drug companies are singled out for their failure to make any significant headway in recent decades whilst continuing to ignore studies that prove that preventative and holistic methods of treatment really do work.

None of this is unprecedented—many of the most significant advances of the last two centuries were greeted with ridicule and anger by top scientists of the day. Faraday was dismissed as a charlatan after his discovery of electromagnetism and X-rays were declared an elaborate hoax by Lord Kelvin. "Space travel is bunk" were the words spoken by Britain's Astronomer Royal just two weeks before Sputnik 1 went into orbit. Meteorites were dismissed as a superstitious relic by the Académie Française which encouraged museums to throw out their specimens; Thomas Edison's electric lamp was dismissed as a "completely idiotic idea" by Sir William Preece, chief engineer of the GPO. New phenomena—such as flight, or TV and radio—are always weak at first, Milton explains, making it all the more easy for them to be dismissed and ignored however important they may later turn out to be, if they survive.

The present marginalisation of scientific dissent and alternative worldviews and the dominance of a reductionist western scientific viewpoint may mean that we lose or ignore important scientific discoveries for reasons entirely non-scientific, Milton fears. Timidity and conservatism in science was recently illustrated by Cambridge University's 1992 appointment to a senior research fellowship in parapsychology of an open opponent of such research!

Though far from comprehensive, this is a broad-ranging, level-headed, and readable introduction to the mammoth field of suppressed knowledge.

RICHARD MILTON
AUTHOR OF THE BEST-SELLING *THE FACTS OF LIFE*

SCIENCE
SUPPRESSED RESEARCH
THAT COULD CHANGE
OUR LIVES

A World to Change

AVOIDING SOCIAL AND ECOLOGICAL DISASTER

THE POLITICS OF WORLD TRANSFORMATION

Rudolf Bahro

Gateway Books, 1994, £9.95, pp 355

Rudolf Bahro came to prominence with his book *The Alternative in Eastern Europe*—a critique of 'actually existing socialism'. After two years in prison in East Germany as a leftwing dissident in the late 70s, he was allowed to leave for West Germany where he joined the fledgling Green Party. Bahro's politics developed into an anti-industrial 'eco-fundamentalism' and he became an intellectual leader of the 'fundis'—the fundamentalist wing of the party. In 1985 he quit the Green Party, disappointed at their co-optation by the system and their transformation into a reformist left party. He is currently teaching at the Humboldt University in East Berlin where he has ensured that every student studies basic ecology.

Bahro's thinking is literally post-industrial: imports should be reduced to the level of 100 years ago, our standard of living should drop to about 1/10th of what it is now; no tourism, avoid banks, pharmaceuticals and all the rest. These are unavoidable steps if we are to set to rights an ecologically-unsustainable system which carries genocide, biocide and ethnocide to the remotest corners of the earth, he tells us. Our task must be to stop the modern industrial Megamachine and develop substitutes for its supply functions: to break our addiction to it.

Bahro's intellectual discussion is interwoven with his experience of politics, particularly in the German green movement. His advice is that Parliament should have been used to get across the message of pulling out of industrialism to the media—not wasted on environmental cosmetics. Reformism just trains the dragon we should be fighting; environmental protection gives a 'green' legitimacy to the industrial system—pushing the imperial consensus back together where it is breaking.

He comes out strongly against any talk of Red-Green coalitions to form a 'majority against the right'. This is only "the most recent variant of a left-wing laziness and cowardice in thinking": eco-socialism is still 'exterminism'. "No 'majority against the Right'", he tells us, "will end the arms race, stop the Megamachine, free the damned of this earth from the weight of the 'good life' in Wash-

ington, London, Paris, Zurich, and Frankfurt, or even relieve them, or set limits to our Satanism against animals and plants". Even the popular notion of arms conversion is rejected as an escape; civilian mass production is no more peaceful than military mass production. He is insistent: "Greens behave everywhere as if they did not know that the scandal lies not in the defects of the system, but in its existence and in its still relatively efficient functioning."

Bahro presents us with the choice: suicide or spiritual rebirth. Inner transformation has become a foundation for all his thinking: "there is no path to salvation which avoids individual transformation". It is not the political system but the psychological structure of humanity which blocks the way to ecological politics he explains. Bahro foresees a kind of new worldwide 'Invisible Church' having a major role in what he calls the 'ecological Turn-around movement'.

This kind of approach is often found alongside a weak political understanding but this is not true with Bahro. Indeed he is a convinced anti-capitalist and despite this

strong focus on 'inner growth' his book is dedicated to Ulrike Meinhof (in whose suicide he doesn't believe). What a relief that personal transformation has not led him into the implausible pseudo-scientific 'New Age' beliefs of our own David Icke whose ultra-paranoid 'Illuminati control the world' conspiracy outlook seems to have left him an isolated, intolerant and unintegrated figure, as well

as effectively anti-semitic. Bahro's influences are more conventional—from Marx to Meister Eckhart—and he only draws on a few of the more intellectually credible cultural philosophers who have attracted the 'New Age' label.

In practice Bahro calls for a change of lifestyle towards one of "frugal beauty" and "voluntary simplicity". Small living circles should be built up as seeds for a new decentralised communitarian society, even if at the beginning we "do the splits" and put one foot in both camps—the old and the new—while we try things out. One of his many suggestions is to allow everyone the use of 1000m² of land.

As if much of this isn't already far beyond the pale for most people he goes on to explain that even the constitutional state and parliamentary democracy may have to be seen as disposable if the goal to rescue humanity is to come first. Pluralism may help us dodge the vital changes. In fact the idea that it may only be catastrophes that are in the end enough to persuade us to change our destructive ways, and bring in a 'Salvation government', exerts quite an attraction over the author.

This is an important book by one of the European green movement's influential utopians, but not a place to look for easy answers or neat solutions.



REGARDING NATURE INDUSTRIALISM AND DEEP ECOLOGY

Andrew McLaughlin,

Albany: SUNY Press, 1993, pp 290.

Reviewed by John Clark

One of Andrew McLaughlin's goals in this welcome new work in eco-philosophy is "to build bridges between the social and nature traditions." This is a very worthwhile endeavour, considering the long-standing propensity of each to overlook the insights of the other — whether on the level of theory or of practice. It has not been uncommon for advocates of social emancipation to dismiss ecological issues as a secondary concern, to be taken care of after the goal of social transformation is achieved, or even to condemn them as frivolous preoccupations of the privileged. Similarly, partisans of nature have often minimized the importance of the quest for freedom and justice in society as a digression from the pre-eminent task of saving the planet, or have even branded that quest as merely another legitimization of destructive human domination. Polarization has even plagued the radical ecology movement itself, with social ecologists sometimes charging that deep ecologists neglect the social roots of ecological crisis, and the latter often replying that the former's emphasis on the social betrays a lack of authentic commitment to nature.

McLaughlin does not hesitate in this work to draw on both of these traditions, and he manages to synthesize many of their diverse insights in a very encouraging way. This achievement reflects a growing mutual understanding between the left and social justice movements on the one hand, and ecological and environmental theorists and activists on the other. In addition, it is one of the best statements thus far of a common ground for both social ecologists and deep ecologists. It is not entirely clear why McLaughlin chooses to identify himself with deep ecology as opposed to other contending "radical ecologies" such as eco-feminism, bioregionalism, or social ecology, which are discussed in a rather cursory fashion in the book. However, in making this identification, he refutes the frequently-levelled charges that theorists associated with deep ecology have a merely superficial grasp of social issues and that they are ignorant of economics. McLaughlin's approach is often quite sophisticated in both areas. Indeed, he does (under the rubric of deep ecology) much of what social ecology has called for in ecological thought—and at times does it better than many social ecologists.

McLaughlin agrees with both social ecologists and the left in general that a widespread naivete concerning social realities on the part of the defenders of nature has turned many ecological demands into mere "utopian oughts." In his attempt to avoid this kind of idealism, he points out the importance of the "problem of agency" (alias "the

historical subject" of Marxism and critical theory), a question that has often been neglected lately even by the "social" tradition.

McLaughlin understands well the inherently anti-ecological nature of the capitalist system. He notes that capitalism operates in a world of "biosphere people" in which the effects of "ecological mistakes" can be avoided for a long time through "displacement of damage onto other societies." Unfortunately, his account neglects somewhat the important topic of their "displacement" onto less privileged or less powerful groups within the "displacing" societies themselves (the basis for the rapidly-growing environmental justice movement today). However, he correctly notes the constraints on freedom inherent in a "monetary society" in which the illusion of contract hides a lack of "individual choice and consent." He summarizes the incompatibility of capitalism and ecology in three points: that the ideology of the market reduces complex, integrated ecosystems to mere collections of resources for



commodity production; that market-based decisions have no relation to long-term ecological sustainability; and that capitalism structurally requires an ecologically disastrous expansion of production.

A major omission in McLaughlin's discussion of the dominant world system is the absence of a sustained discussion of the Third World. Strangely, he chooses to "pay little attention to the problem of the Third World" because he wishes to focus on "industrialism and its ideologies of nature." Yet this ignores the seemingly inescapable fact that the entire dominant problematic of development has been founded precisely on industrialism and its ideology. While he may be right in his contention that what the Third World "needs most right now" is an understanding of the errors of industrialization, in the world of a global economy and "free trade," this is inseparable from its comprehension of the role it plays in the capitalist industrial system.

McLaughlin is quite clear in rejecting socialism as a means of reforming that industrial system. Unlike many recent critics, he does not simplistically equate socialism with the Marxist-Leninist movements and regimes that have long dominated that tradition. Indeed, he rather generously defines it as a system that "consciously subordinates

economic decisions to social plans in the interest of social justice and equality." He believes that in principle, socialism could break with the ecologically-fatal ideology of industrialism and growth. However, he contends that in real history, proceeding from actually-existing social conditions, any "centralized socialism" will inevitably produce bureaucracies that will be interested in increasing industrial production in order to satisfy both public "desire...for material consumption" and their own "political need for social control." He fears that even market socialism will fail, in that it will succumb to either the logic of the market or that of centralized administration. Though this is quite convincing there is a major gap in the discussion. There is no serious consideration of decentralized, democratic self-management or communitarianism as an alternative to state or market socialism, and the reader has no idea of his view of such options (which he perhaps excluded from the discussion because of their frequent classification as forms of anarchism or "utopianism").

McLaughlin reiterates the strong critique of modern science recently levelled by Carolyn Merchant and others, though he tends to overemphasize the centrality of the modern scientific world view in legitimating the dominant system. The judgment that the "stature of the scientist in our society rivals that of the priest in theocratic societies," reflects the academic subculture more than the dominant culture, in which economism, not scientism, is the dominant religion (as McLaughlin recognizes elsewhere). While the idea of the world of physics and chemistry as the "real world" has importance, especially in the productionist substratum of the society of consumption, the dominant imaginary of that society is the consumptionist imaginary. While McLaughlin admires some of Marx's ideas, he might have drawn more on the latter's analysis of the fetishism of commodities, which suggests that the "removal of divinity and animism" from nature has led not to their banishment in the name of "scientific objectivity," but rather to their projection on to the commodity. Yet, McLaughlin's discussion of science and society is often insightful, as when he shows how reductive science (along with economic thinking) has corrupted contemporary "ecological" or "environmental" discourse. There are also noteworthy reflections on the modern idea of "mastery of nature," including comments on the ways in which thinkers like Marcuse and Habermas fail to overcome the problematic of domination of nature.

After an effective critique of the kind of superficial environmentalism that he calls "reactive," McLaughlin discusses, at some length, deep ecology and "radical ecocentrism." His acceptance of deep ecology stems from his adoption of the eight-point deep ecology platform devised by Arne Naess and George Sessions (see *Open Eye* 2, page 35), rather than from a commitment to any particular underlying philosophical, religious, or other justification of those points. In some ways, this seems reasonable, since the platform gives a rather general sketch of ecological principles and practice. However, this very generality cre-

ates certain problems that are not adequately faced by McLaughlin. For example, the platform states that humans "have no right to reduce [nature's] richness and diversity except to satisfy vital needs." Yet without a theory of needs (implying an ontology and philosophy of human nature) this statement is vacuous. Furthermore, "the flourishing of non-human life" requires "a substantial decrease in human population." However, without a theoretical basis for determining how to evaluate various levels of additional "flourishing" and various alternative means of achieving population decrease, we learn little about what policies might be justified. It is stated that policies affecting "basic economic, technological, and ideological structures" must be changed, so that the future "will be deeply different from the present." But while it's safe to assume that the future will be "deeply different," this can mean different things to different ecologists (ranging from an authoritarian ecofascism to an anarchistic eco-communitarianism). Similar difficulties exist with other principles. The fundamental problem is that the platform is like a series of conclusions, abstracted from their premises. Yet the meaning of each principle is largely determined by the process of getting to it.

McLaughlin does, however, discuss various justifications for the deep ecology platform that he finds plausible. In general, they involve some kind of "expansive identification" or self-realization through identification with a larger self. This is, indeed, a promising approach, since an authentically ecological sensibility will require an ability to break out of the narrowness of ego-identification, in order to discover the continuity between ourselves and the larger wholes of which we are parts. Nevertheless, McLaughlin is less than critical of some notions of identification. For example, he cites Warwick Fox's view that the "most accessible" kind of identification is a "cosmologically based sense of commonality with all that is" that leads us to experience ourselves as leaves of a "cosmic tree" that "has been growing for some fifteen billion years, becoming infinitely larger and infinitely more differentiated in the process." Let us agree that this kind of self-knowledge is valuable — still, it seems that the kind of identification proposed by bioregionalism is not only more accessible, but more ecologically and socially significant. We can discover ourselves within our bioregion or local ecocommunity as integral parts of a concrete whole (a concrete universal, we might even say), a very specific community of life, within which we can develop a culture of place, a practical expression of our identity. Furthermore, it is not at the cosmic level that we most meaningfully and practically confront either ecological crisis or social injustice.

It is to the credit of McLaughlin that he returns at the conclusion of the book to the "problem of agency," in an attempt to help move contemporary ecological thought away from mere moralism toward effective social practice. He sees potential for growing ecological consciousness and effective political action in a public affected increasingly by ecological degradation, in workers who are exposed to hazardous substances

on the job, in a Green movement that seeks a coherent ecological politics, in feminists who convincingly link patriarchy and the domination of nature, and finally, in radical ecologists who discover the links between social injustice and ecological crisis. McLaughlin notes that "just as humanity and nature need to be understood within a holistic perspective, so too does modern society require a holistic understanding." As a result of making such connections, "a clear understanding of industrialism's determinative role in the rape of the Earth" will show that "radical eco-centrism must make common cause with the oppressed of the world." It is this understanding of the intimate connection between the political and the ecological that makes this book so encouraging.

John Clark is the author of *The Anarchist Moment - Reflections on Nature, Culture and Power*. He edited *Renewing the Earth - The Promise of Social Ecology*, a collection of radical ecological writings in honour of Murray Bookchin. He also co-edits *Mesechabe - the Journal of Surrealism*: 7725 Cohn St, New Orleans, LA 70118, USA. Reprinted from *Radical Philosophy Review of Books*.

BEYOND HYPOCRISY

DECODING THE NEWS IN AN AGE OF PROPAGANDA WITH A DOUBLESPEAK DICTIONARY FOR THE 1990S

Edward S Herman

South End Press, 116 Saint Botolph St, Boston, MA 02115, 1992, £9.95, pp 239

Reviewed by Dave Stewart

In this book, Herman does a superb job of highlighting the Orwellian 'doublespeak' nature of the 'free press': as he points out, a world in which the aims and interests of the elite ruling class grow ever further removed from the aims and interests of those ruled requires its own special vocabulary. Quoting Orwell, Herman reminds us that "political language serves to obfuscate an indefensible reality". And, arguable, never has the indefensible been better defended than during the Thatcher-Major, Reagan-Bush years. For the administrations which gave the world the slaughter of 200,000 Iraqis, unknown thousands of Panamanians, and the covert war against Nicaragua, the attitude is clear. As Bernard Ingham, Thatcher's press secretary, memorably put it, "bugger the public's right to know. The game is the security of the state - not the public's right to know".

Herman suggests that this state of affairs can be formulated into two laws; a "power law of access" and an "inverse power law of truthfulness". The first of these laws says that the greater your economic and political clout, the easier your access to the mass media; and the less your power, the more difficult the access. Somewhere along the declining power scale, access falls to zero. The second law holds that the greater your economic and political power, the greater your freedom to lie. This law follows in part from the first one, as those who would be most willing to refute the lies of the powerful are weak with limited access. Such access as they might have is further reduced

by the discordant nature of their messages.

These power laws make the mass media extremely serviceable for system-supportive propaganda campaigns, since 'naturally' enough in a market economy, media proprietors, advertisers and governments have common aims and interests. Hence, for example, Saddam Hussein was free to wage war against neighbouring states and butcher as many of his own subjects as he wished. Only when he transgressed against western economic interests did the free press see fit to vilify him as the 'new Hitler'.

Similarly, the issue of American incompetence (or entrapment) regarding Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, with the assurance that the border dispute was regarded as strictly an Arab conflict, was passed over by the free press, which chose to collapse into raptures of delight at the "threatening beauty" of the US airstrikes on Iraq and the "picture-perfect assault". Nowhere was there any suggestion that there might be human agony or death behind the "surgical precision" of the "star spangled display of threatening force".

Herman suggests that this blindness towards Iraqi deaths may be explained by the "mere gook rule", or the racist western attitude towards the lives of those considered to be less important than westerners. Hence the costs of the Gulf War, both in planning and in retrospective assessment, were discussed by the western media simply in terms of western—and, specifically, US—casualties and the affair is seen as a miraculously quick and bloodfree victory, since the 200,000 dead Iraqis are simply irrelevant. Again, Herman suggests, such a callous attitude towards human life might make a mockery of any US claim to be acting as a global policeman in a New World Order, yet such ironies are not for discussion by the 'free press'.

Ultimately, there is much to recommend Herman's book. It applies a blowtorch of outrage and satire to the lies of those who seek to protect the privilege of the ruling elite and, most pertinently with its 'Doublespeak Dictionary', acts as a reminder, while the press masturbates itself into a frenzy over the bogus issue of 'political correctness', of precisely in whose interests language is controlled and shaped.

Technology-out-of-control

IN THE ABSENCE OF THE SACRED

THE FAILURE OF TECHNOLOGY AND THE SURVIVAL OF THE INDIAN NATIONS

Jerry Mander

San Francisco, Sierra Club Books, 1992, pp 446.

Jerry Mander is a stimulating green thinker who writes in a particularly clear and accessible way. He calls into question the foundations of technological progress. Most people would call his conclusions 'luddite'.

Mander argues that the lauded achievement of consumer 'choice' is a fallacy when big business is in reality forcing all of us to live our lives in a similar manner, trained to achieve our pleasure from what we buy. Looking at the state of our world he argues that the Industrial Revolution has not lived up to its advertising and he looks hopefully towards the "emerging awareness that we may have been led down the garden path by false advertising toward a fantasy world, created by romantics who had an economic stake in our accepting their dream."

Mander warns that with every new technological innovation and commodity we are only told about the 'best-case scenarios' of its effect on our lives, with the information inevitably supplied by those who stand to gain from our acceptance. As a result this information is invariably optimistic and positive. Only nuclear power had a slightly rougher ride; the worst-case scenario was clear at the outset, at Hiroshima. From now on our attitude to technology should be 'guilty until proven innocent'. Would we have wholeheartedly embraced the car if we had known about the desolate and isolating urban landscapes that would result, the pollution, cancers, resource depletion, waste, the spread of tarmac over much of the country, not to mention elimination of public transport choice and wars over oil? The list of 'unforeseen' consequences goes on and on: what about the boredom and alienation of assembly line work and its social effects?

The bête noire of technologies, the glue which holds the whole destructive system together, is—for Mander—television. While researching his previous book *Four Arguments for the Elimination of Television* he found to his amazement that of the 10,000 books on the subject of TV, not one was arguing that society might actually be better off without it. *In the Absence of the Sacred* reiterates the findings of this earlier investigation. TV makes people passive, Mander explains. When watching TV the brain switches to 'alpha level'—a highly receptive but non-cognitive mode—and information is then placed directly into the mind without viewer's participation. Researchers at the Australian National University have called it 'sleep-teaching'.

This is all the more worrying as TV watching has become, apart from work and sleep, the main activity of life for most Americans and many other nationalities besides. The diverse activities of previous generations—community events, cultural pursuits and family life—have been replaced by TV. The average viewer watches 21,000 commercials per annum. TV, argues Mander, has allowed a quantum leap in the homogenisation of thought, behaviour and culture after giving corporations unprecedented centralised control. The end result? Nothing more than mass brainwashing and political control, with alternative visions effectively shut out.

The arrival of satellite television implants

images of American-style commodity life globally, threatening a kind of worldwide monoculture as the techno-paradise of the 'new world order'. Our TV addiction also trains us for drug dependency and commodity dependency, argues Mander. The text is peppered with supporting quotes from those who are more than happy with the direction that things are now going: the President of Nabisco speaks of his dreams of "One world of homogenous consumption ... (I am) looking forward to the day when Arabs and Americans, Latins and Scandinavians will be munching Ritz crackers as enthusiastically as they already drink Coke or brush their teeth with Colgate."

When faced with TV, ordinary life appears slow and dull, says Mander. TV speeds up our nervous systems until we are too fast to feel calm, or to read, almost too fast to relate meaningfully to others, and much too fast to experience nature. We become speed junkies. With television we have moved en masse inside totally artificial, reconstructed and "mediated" worlds. Newer developments like computers add to this envelopment in an artificial environment. Faced with the increasing insistence that children should be taught by computers one writer on the *Toronto Globe* asked: "If children are separated from their parents by hours of TV, from their playmates by video games, and from their teachers by teaching machines, where are they supposed to learn to be human?"

Surprisingly enough views on technology are nearly identical across the political spectrum: technology is 'neutral' and has no inherent politics, no inevitable social or environmental consequences. Mander disagrees. As an example, nuclear power, he argues, cannot move society in a democratic direction and must move it in an autocratic one because of its very nature, its expense and dangerousness. Solar energy on the other hand is intrinsically biased towards democratic use. It can be small-scale, controlled by the community and even by a family. Corporations, similarly, can't be reformed; we might as well ask an army to adopt pacifism. Despite numerous lessons in the prudence of caution, new developments are still entered into with the frightening optimism of the past. Genetics is the latest 'wilderness' to be explored and conquered. This is the ultimate desecration of life according to another critic, Jeremy Rifkin, and will result in the reduction of life to the status of a manufactured commodity, indistinguishable from the commercial products.

Half of the book is devoted to describing the lessons to be learnt from the Indian and indigenous ways of life, and an extensive survey of indigenous peoples' struggles against the forces of the 'megamachine' which destroys their cultures. Globally there is a continuing colonisation of the 'empty wilderness' where indigenous people have often lived for thousands of years—a con-

tinuation of the kind of genocide most brutally carried out against the American Indians.

In cultures where co-operation, sharing, non-materialism and respect for natural cycles are vital to the community, technological encroachment brings the opposite values—with tragic consequences. In North America the result even now is that stories, legends, and languages are forgotten, and new 'activities' like watching TV stop people even visiting each other. It is little wonder that there are outbreaks of suicide amongst the younger generation and often despair on reservations after lands have been stolen and sustainable lifestyles made impossible.

Mander looks at some of the underlying assumptions and justifications we have about indigenous people, for instance the use of Darwinian theory to justify subjugation by 'more advanced' Europeans. Marshall Sahlins' famed, but disputed, study of 'stone-age economics' is discussed to show that there is in fact an abundance of leisure time in subsistence societies compared to what we make do with and a conscious choice to avoid accumulating a surplus.

The book has had a mixed reaction from the people whose lifeways it tries to articulate. Ward Churchill, the radical North American Indian activist, criticises Mander for neglecting the words of actual Indian people in favour of those of an "all but exclusively white, mostly male, oppositional intelligentsia of which he is a part". This group includes Kirkpatrick Sale, Ivan Illich, Fritjof Capra, Gary Snyder, Starhawk, Vandana Shiva, George Sessions, Bill Devall, Fritz Schumacher, Riane Eisler and Arne Naess. Churchill adds too that there is no mention made of AIM (the American Indian Movement), probably the "pre-eminent native resistance group in the US since the 1970s", perhaps because of the solidarity they have shown with the PLO. Where are the Palestinians in Mander's round-up of indigenous liberation struggles, asks Churchill? Mander and allied thinkers have also been criticised from other quarters for their belief in some kind of 'lost paradise' that existed before we deviated 'from nature', where real men hunt and real women pick berries.

Whatever his merits as a voice of an Indian alternative Mander remains an articulate and provocative proponent of an important green message and a new, more critical, 'holistic' way of examining technology.

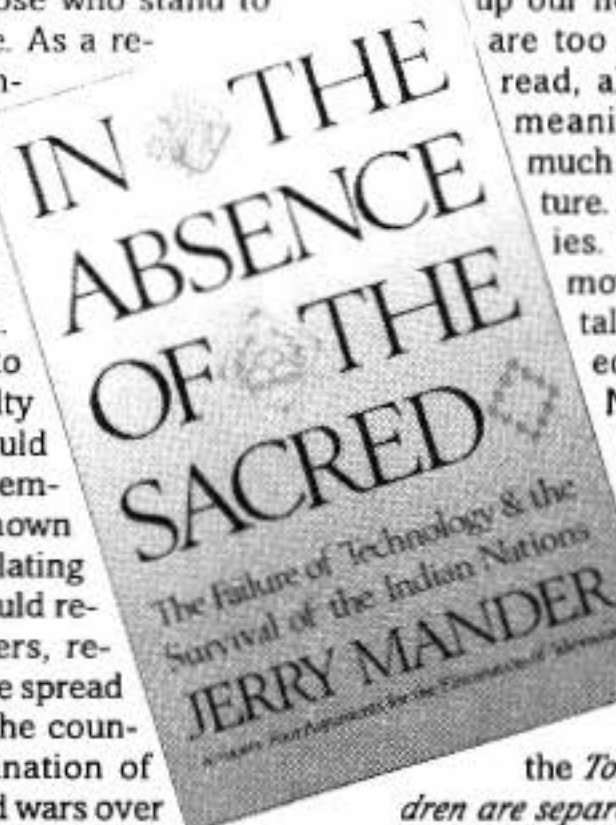
NEW AGE AND ARMAGEDDON THE GODDESS OR THE GURUS? TOWARDS A FEMINIST VISION OF THE FUTURE

Monica Sjöö

The Womens Press, 1992, pp 330

Reviewed by AH

If you are already skeptical about the values and philosophy of the New Age movement then this book will confirm your scepticism. If you aren't then what Monica



Sjöo reveals in this book should make you so. By examining the written and spoken ideas of various people regarded as "gurus" of the New Age it becomes clear that "the New Age is more a part of the problem than a solution" to the apparent forthcoming disaster for the planet Earth. She exposes the founders of Findhorn, the white light devotees, rebirthers, the promoters of the Harmonic Convergence idea, Fountain International, various New Age shamans, spirituals and pagans to a feminist analysis and finds them to be patriarchal, misogynist and racist. She further reveals that some of the most highly regarded "gurus" in the New Age believe, and even welcome, an armageddon-like future in which the believers will be saved, the Earth cleansed and a Golden Age will return in which a Christ-like figure rules over Life. New Agers show themselves to be very much defenders of the "status quo", the established white male order which both fears and strives to control nature.

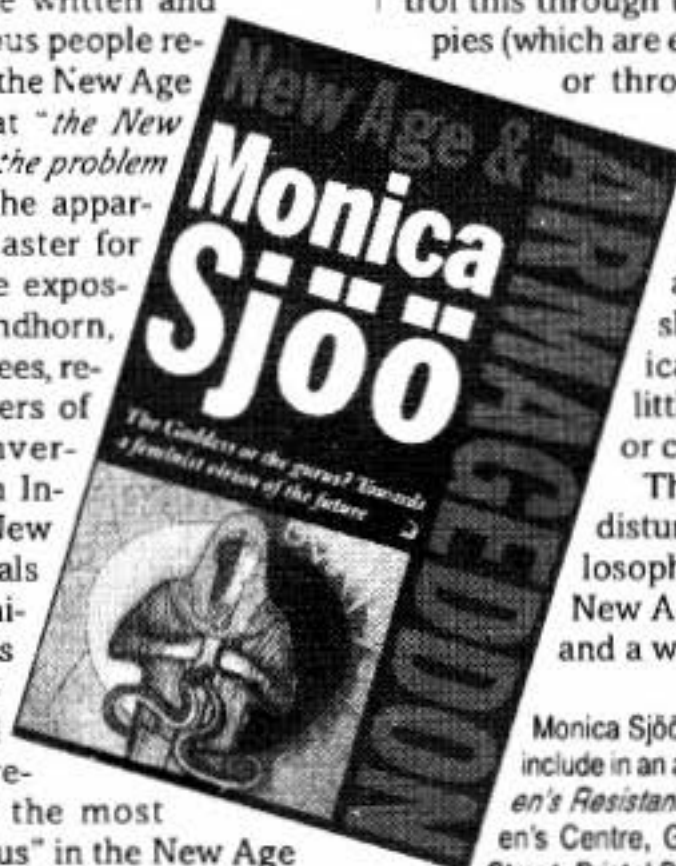
It also becomes clear that a lot of New Age thinking is bound up with finding solutions to problems inside, rather than seeing them in the context of society and its structures. Sjöo challenges maxims of the New Age such as "you create your own reality" which imply that if you are poor, ill or dying it is of your own making, and "if women are having a hard time you should work on yourselves", again implying that outside conditions such as patriarchy have nothing to do with it. On a more sinister level, she quotes gurus of New Age philosophy speaking of the free-market American capitalist system as the model for the future. In return for these endorsements, transnational corporations are making a greater use of alternative therapies, for example TM, to create a more docile workforce and increased profits. Transcendental Meditation, of Natural Law Party fame, is used in American prisons to teach prisoners to make themselves more docile and controllable, it being cheaper and more subtle than tranquillizers. TM is to be introduced on an experimental basis into the prisons here this year.

Monika Sjöo also writes of her experiences and her son's in the hands of alternative therapists during the time of the cancer from which he eventually died. It seems quite common for some alternative therapists to say, as they did to her son, that, "your illness is due to something lacking in yourself and you yourself are the cause of your illness and need to learn something from it". This, whilst being charged £30 per hour-long session is natural w(h)alth indeed.

The so-called natural birth movement, pioneered by Leboyer, is also examined through his own writings and those of its other exponents and rebirthers. What she shows is their fear of women's sexuality in the vivid, aggressive and negative ideas they have of the birth of a baby. This, together with the ideas that some New Agers have

about ageing and death, their desire to control this through their use of certain therapies (which are expensive and don't work), or through bioengineering, she describes to illustrate the fear of Life and Nature that a lot of New Age thinking seems to encourage. The New Age is thus shown to discourage political questioning and to have little awareness of race, sex or class or even to welcome it. This is a very revealing and disturbing insight into the philosophy and background of the New Age and its so-called gurus, and a welcome questioning of it.

Monika Sjöo is currently looking for writing to include in an anthology provisionally titled *Women's Resistance in the UK*. Contact: The Women's Centre, Greenleaf Bookshop, 82 Colston Street, Bristol BS1 5BB.



ANIMAL RESEARCH TAKES LIVES

HUMANS AND ANIMALS BOTH SUFFER
Bette Overell

NZ Anti-Vivisection Soc, 1993, pp 368
Reviewed by Patrick Rattigan

In April 1989, the New Zealand Anti-Vivisection Society presented a 100,000-signature petition to the NZ Parliament, asking for the abolition of animal experiments. Although the petition, after the initial publicity, was, effectively, side-lined, the petition did elicit a response from the vivisection syndicate.

In November 1990, courtesy of the taxpayer, the NZ Ministry of Agriculture produced a booklet, *Animal Research Saves Lives*, a joint effort by the Cancer Society, the Heart Foundation, the Medical Research Society and the Medical Research Remedies Manufacturers Association. The latter includes such life-savers as Ciba-Geigy, ICI, Smithkline Beecham, DuPont and so on.

In the style of *Cardiac Arrest*, the detailed refutation of the American Heart Association fiction on heart research vivisection, Bette Overell went through *Animal Research Saves Lives* and, point by point, shot down all the misinformation. The end product was *Animal Research Takes Lives*.

This 368-page hard-back book, with its 16-page index and its references in situ brings in evidence from all over the world and, with many illustrations, demolishes the case for animal research. Considering the document that Bette Overell has produced I would imagine that the Syndicate now wish that they too had ignored the petition.

That the likes of Hans Ruesch—"magnificent, monumental, practically faultless" and Pietro Croce "splendid, precious contribution, analytical index... was excellent"—have enthusiastically endorsed the book is enough said. ARTL will save lives: human and animal.



Available from: Cynthia O'Neill, 22 Church Meadow, Milton-Upon-Wychwood, Chipping Norton, Oxon, OX7 6JG. Cheques for £17.50 (inc. p&p) to C. A. O'Neill. [Editorial note: Unfortunately ARTL includes offensive references to homosexuality as "sexual deviance".]

Who pays the piper?

A BIT ON THE SIDE

POLITICIANS - WHO PAYS THEM? AN INSIDER'S GUIDE
Paul Halloran and Mark Hollingsworth

London, Simon and Schuster, 1994, pp 231, £12.99

This 'do-it-yourself manual to the hidden agenda of British politics' is an invaluable guide to the various directorships, consultancies, shareholdings etc of our erstwhile MPs and MEPS and what exactly they mean. Multiple indexes even include a reverse directory listing

each of the big lobby groups (agriculture, the City, defence, pharmaceuticals, food industry, lawyers, oil, privatisation, road etc) along with the MPs linked to them. A brief description is given of each of these secretive interest groups along with their relative strength or weakness.

Other books which focus on just one lobby grouping come up with more names, for those that want greater depth Geoffrey Can-



non's *The Politics of Food*, for instance, comes up with 250 MPs linked to the food industry, only 13 are named here.

Look out for the authors' forthcoming biography of Mark Thatcher!

NEW ECONOMIC INDICATORS

A PILOT INDEX: 1950-1990

Tim Jackson and Nic Marks

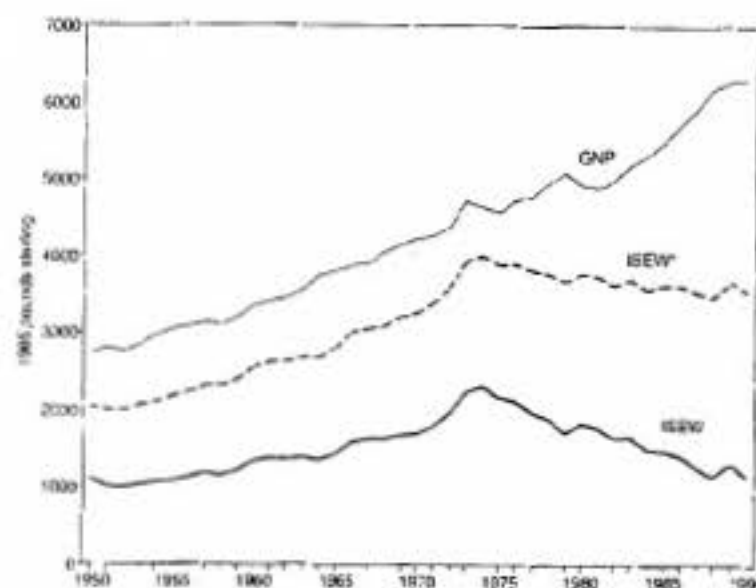
Stockholm Environment Inst./New Economics Fdn., 1994, pp 46

Understanding that economic success does not automatically mean increased welfare, the New Economics Foundation has undertaken a pilot report into the British economy using a better indicator than GNP, able to account for health, individual well-being, environmental quality and security, and including also housework and voluntary work. Increased industrial output which may for instance be simultaneously polluting the environment and disabling the workforce has its negative consequences reflected in a new Index of Sustainable Welfare (ISEW). A good balance sheet today won't count for much when future generations find themselves bankrupted as a result. One unfortunate potential flaw in this adjusted GNP is that the effects of some economic activities on the biosphere may in fact be catastrophic and irreversible, and therefore beyond the scope of any index to measure.

The results of this reappraisal of GNP are striking: while GNP has increased by 230% since 1950, sustainable economic welfare has barely increased by barely 3%. And the peak of sustainable economic welfare was in 1974! Indeed it is noticeable that ISEW declined by almost 5% a year in the 1980s. In the period from 1975 to 1990, when GNP rose by a third, sustainable economic welfare dropped by about 50%. What does this mean? In real terms we are hardly any better off than we were forty years ago and much worse off than we were in the mid-70s.

Since the 1974 peak, rises in GNP have not translated into increased sustainable economic welfare. Environmental damage, run-down of resources and social and environmental costs of production have all increased.

Also important in its effect on individual



sustainable economic welfare is the growing inequality of income distribution—which increased rapidly after 1982. An unsuspected result of this disparity is shown in a recent Sussex University study which reported that "countries with the longest life expectancy are those with the smallest spread of incomes" and not those with the highest standard of living as is commonly expected.

New Economics Foundation: 88/94 Wentworth St, London E1 7SA; tel 0171 377 5696.

Shorts

Trail of the Octopus: From Beirut to Lockerbie—Inside the CIA by Donald Goddard with Lester K. Coleman, Penguin, 1994, 486 pages, £4.99. The same subject matter as Allan Frankovich's important documentary, 'The Maltese Double Cross'. The London Film Festival, Ch 4 and the ICA all pulled out of screening it after pressure, including planted media smear stories. Bob Swire, Lockerbie relatives' spokesman: "If it is only half true there must have been a monumental cover-up". The major allegation: CIA/DEA 'controlled-drug delivery' route was discovered by Iranian-backed terrorists who got their bomb into this pre-existing covert link. A President Bush staff member told another Lockerbie relative: "Your government and ours know exactly what happened but they are never going to tell." Only 9 days after contacting author Lester Coleman for a lead, investigative journalist Danny Casolaro died in a very suspicious suicide. He had been linking together 'the Octopus', Iran-contra, BCCI, October Surprise and the PROMIS software scandal. To arrange a showing or for info about the secret state campaign against the film (phone-tapping, break-ins, arson etc) telephone 0171 328 4550.

The Fifth Sacred Thing by Starhawk, Bantam Books, New York, 1994, 487 pages. Love, revolution, paganism and ecotopia merge in this gripping first novel by a well-known feminist witch and peace activist. Similar to LeGuin's classics *The Dispossessed* and *Always Coming Home*.

The Enemy Within – MI5, Maxwell and the Scargill Affair by Seumas Milne, Verso, 1994, 344 pages. The successful secret war by Thatcher, Stella Rimington, MI5 et al, their media instruments (eg *Daily Mirror*, *The Cook Report*) and agents provocateurs against Scargill's NUM.

Anarchism: Left, Right and Green by Ulrike Heider, City Lights Books, San Francisco, 1994, 160 pages, £6.79. A readable, and critical, survey of the US anarchist milieu including interviews with Bookchin, Biehl, Chomsky, Dolgoff and anarcho-capitalist Rothbard. Heider prefers the left/anarcho-syndicalist current.

Ecological Feminism edited by Karen Warren, Routledge, 1994, 209 pages. A philosophical anthology.

Future Primitive and other essays by John Zerzan, Autonomedia/CAL Press, 1994, POB 1446, Columbia, MO 65205-1446, 185 pages. A sequel to *Elements of Refusal*. Primitivist anarchist John Zerzan follows up his thought-provoking diatribes against art, farming, language, time and industrialism as domination with new material on culture, psychology, postmodernism, Bookchin.

Green Delusions – An Environmentalist Critique of Radical Environmentalism by Martin L. Lewis, Duke University Press, 1994, 288 pages. An interesting, confrontational and "deliberately controversial" discussion.

The Danger of Ecofascism: Lessons from the German Experience, essays by Janet Biehl and Peter Staudenmaier, AK Press, 1994.

Beneath the Underground by Bob Black, Feral House, PO Box 3466, Portland, Oregon, OR97208 USA, 1994, \$10.95, 190 pages. An exploration of the 'marginals milieu': the DIY subculture and its 'zines'.

Which Way for the Ecology Movement, Essays by Murray Bookchin, AK Press, 22 Lutton Place, Edinburgh, Scotland, 8HE 9PE, 1994, £4.50, 75 pages. Insight and polemic on population, sociobiology, deep ecology and more from the wise old man of eco-anarchism.

Health Service Wildcat drawn by Donald Room/scripts V Freedom Press (in Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX), 1994, £1.95, 48 pages. Cartoon critique of NHS reforms.

Trick or Treason: the October Surprise Mystery by Robert Parry, Sheridan Sq Press, 1993, \$24.95, pp 349. Was Reagan's 1980 victory bought with a covert weapons-for-hostages swap with the Iranians?

Defrauding America: A Pattern Of Related Scandals – Dirty Secrets of the CIA and Other Government Operations by Rodney Stich, Diabolo Western Press, PO Box 5, Alamo, California CA 94507, expanded second edition, 1994, 654 pages, \$27.50; tel 1 800 2477389. Some questionable sources but still a devastating exposé of cover-ups and criminality, so threatening that no mainstream newspaper or magazine dared to review it or advertise it.

Why We Will Never Win the War on AIDS by Peter Duesberg and Bryan Ellison, Inside Story Press, 1994, \$25 (inc p&p) from Rethinking AIDS, 2040 Polk St, #321, San Francisco, CA 94109. A dissidents' view.

Compromised: Clinton, Bush, and the CIA: How the Presidency was co-opted by the CIA by Terry Reed and John Cummings, Shapolsky Publishers inc, NY, 1994, 546 pages. The Clinton-linked Arkansas CIA-contra gun/drug-smuggling cover-up. The media is at last showing an interest. See *Open Eye 2*, p 12-13.

Failure to Quit – Reflections of an Optimistic Historian by Howard Zinn, Common Courage Press, Monroe, Maine, 1993, 164 pages. Collected essays by the author of the acclaimed *A People's History of the United States*.

Healing the Split – Integrating Spirit Into Our Understanding of the Mentally Ill by John E. Nelson, revised edition, SUNY Press, 1994. Discussion of madness, genius, drugs and spirituality. Includes description of the various strands of anti-psychiatry.

Censored – The News That Didn't Make the News – And Why, edited by Carl Jensen and Project Censored. Four Walls Eight Windows, New York, 1994, pp 318. Award-winning censored stories including US oil concessions in Somalia, CIA involvement in overthrow of Aristide and support for military officials who smuggle cocaine into the US, Anti-Defamation League political spying. Contact: Carl Jensen, Project Censored, Sonoma State University, Rohnert Park, CA 94928.

The ILP (Independent Labour Party): Past and Present by Barry Winter, ILP Pubns (49 Top Moor Side, Leeds LS11), 1993, pp 38, £2.50.

The Orpheus Programme by Roger Cottrell, Minerva Press, 10 Cromwell Place, London SW7 2JN, 1994, 515 pages. Parapolitical novel.

Open Eye publications

- **Open Eye: The Inevitable War.** Strategic and ideological factors ensured that Iraq & the United States would eventually fight for control of the Persian/Arabian Gulf. 0-90p (20pp).
- **Open Eye: Plunder & Blunder.** The immediate ideological, economic and political causes of the war with Iraq. 0-90p (20pp).
- **Open Eye: The Situationist International - Its Art, Its Theory, Its Practice.** 1-00p (24pp).
- **Open Eye: The Green Movement - Should it be Human-centred or Nature-centred?** The social ecology vs. deep ecology debate. 0-70p (12pp).
- **Open Eye: Deep Ecology and Transpersonal Psychology - An Enlightening Confrontation?** A critical investigation of the ideas of green theorists including Bookchin and Naess, and transpersonal psychologist Ken Wilber, and subjects such as ecofeminism, evolution and ecofascism. £2-50 (53pp).
- **Noam Chomsky: New World Order** 0-80p (16pp).
- **Guy Debord: Refutation of all judgments whether in praise or hostile which have up to now been brought on the film "The Society of the Spectacle".** £1-20 (30pp).
- **Anthony Verney: The Happy Retirement.** The full story of how an old couple's idyllic retirement cottage was turned into a torture



chamber, and who might have been responsible. As featured in *Open Eye* issue 2. £1-30 (30pp).

• **Joe Vialls: Secret Agenda of Falklands and Gulf Wars.** Was the Falklands war fought for oil? Were Gulf oil fields deliberately bombed & why? 1-00p. (22pp).

• **David Ward: Nagaland. Tears Behind the Blindfold.** Ward's statement, smuggled out of Naini Jail, which forced John Major's intervention to secure his release. 0-70p (16pp).

• **George Firsoff/PADRAS: Why we need Stonehenge - A History of Worship & Celebration** 0-30p (6pp).

• **London Greenpeace: The Battle against McDonalds.** 0-50p (10pp).

• **Dr. David Lowry: Politics of Plutonium in the UK.** Lecture in Japan, Nov. 1991. £1-40 (32pp).

• **Alistair Phillips/Powerwatch: Electromagnetic Fields - The Secret Killer.** £1-00 (20pp).

• Books are also available from *Open Eye* notably:

Tony Collins: Open Verdict - An Account of 25 Mysterious Deaths in the Defence Industry £6.00 (261pp).

• Other authors include Paul Foot, Agee, Stockwell etc. Send SAE for details.

13◀ always been the best technique of social control and there's a lot of that going on around the world.

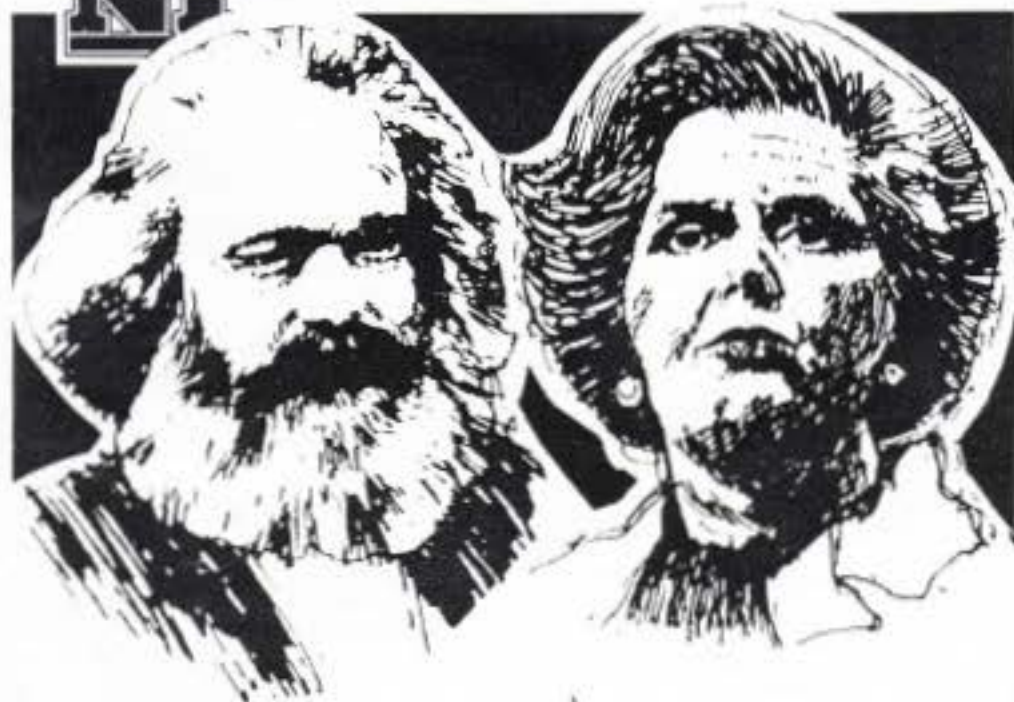
As in the 19th century there was a reaction to all of this. The Chiapas uprising in Mexico is one kind of reaction, a very constructive one in that case, the riot in South Central Los Angeles a year earlier was another kind of reaction—not constructive in that case. That's the difference between a society like Chiapas which is extremely impoverished and repressed but still reflects some sort of integrity and could do something constructive as compared with what happened in the US slums where there has just been complete social destruction.

In Central America—despite all the enormous terror—miraculously popular organisations have survived and in the Caribbean too. There are striking changes in the United States, this is the first time that there has been an effort of labour solidarity across workers in the United States. Immediately after NAFTA, General Electric and General Motors and Honeywell fired Mexican workers for labour organising but this time—for the first time—the US unions got involved and they have much more clout of course and they were able to mitigate this. But the point is the change: a recognition that working people are also going to have to act on an international scale if they want to combat this vicious class war that's being fought against them with its destructive effects. There has been an extension and growth in the various peace and justice and solidarity-type movements that evolved in the 80s. In short there are conflicting tendencies as there always have been and there's no way to know how that conflict will turn out, what we can be sure is that the stakes are very large.

This is an edited version of the talk given by Noam Chomsky at the Conway Hall in late May 1994. An edited extract of the first part has appeared in the *New Statesman*, who kindly supplied us with a full recording.



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Alternative Press Update

These are additions to our list in issue 2 (send sae for a copy), including new arrivals, changes and ones we inexcusably missed off.

AK distribution

Mailorder radical books, magazines.
22 Lutton Place, Edinburgh EH8 9PE. Tel 0131 667 1507.

DS4A

Anarchist mailorder catalogue.
Box 8, Box 8, Greenleaf Bookshop, 82 Colston St, Bristol BS1 5BB (send sae).

Investigative

Lobster

Covers hidden politics, far Right, MI5/CIA, covert propaganda, assassinations, conspiracies.

Robin Ramsay, 214 Westbourne Ave, Hull HU5 3JB (sub £5/2 issues). Tel 01482 447558.

Lobster

Offshoot similar to Ramsay's *Lobster*. Stephen Dorril, 135 School St, Netherthong, Holmfirth, W Yorks HD7 2YB (sub £8/4 issues). Tel 01484 681388.

Green/Health

Greenline

Green/animal rights news, articles, events diary, networking.
New address: PO Box 5 Lostwithiel, Cornwall PL22 0YT (sub £9/7.50). Tel 01726 850500.

Do or Die

A voice of Earth First!, the radical eco-activists network. Articles, direct action, anti-roads, news.

Dead Trees EFL, Box 51, 82 Colston St, Bristol BS1 5BB (£1 in stamps/copy).

Undercurrents

Video magazine with news, eco-protest, anti-CJA and more. Send them your camcorder footage!

Small World Media, 1A Waterlow Rd, London, N19 5NJ £20/£8/£4 (unwaged)+£1.50 p&p Tel 0171 281 7320.

Toxcat

Community/health issues, anti-pollution news and radical alternatives.

Communities Against Toxics (sub £32 for 12 issues + reports). Tel 0151 339 5473.

Network

New developments in science, philosophy, medicine, consciousness research: new paradigm. 96 pp A5. David Lorimer, Scientific and Medical Network, Lesser Hallings, Tilehouse Lane, Denham, Uxbridge, Middx UB9 5DG (sub £15/3 issues). Tel 01895 835818.

Society for Environmental Therapy
Newsletter exploring the environmental causes of disease and low-technology medicine.

S.E.T. 521 Foxhall Road, Ipswich Suffolk IP3 8LW (sub: £12/£6).

Turning Point 2000

News and reviews of green, cultural and economic initiatives and publications plus events diary.

The Old Bakehouse, Cholesey, Oxon OX10 9NU (sub £5/2 issues). Tel 01491 652346.

Green Anarchist

Uncompromising eco-activist paper. News, articles, reviews, network and events diary.

Lancaster Bomber c/o PO Box 407, Camberley GU15 3FL (sub £3.50 in cash/PO).

Anti-Nuclear Network

Links autonomous local groups opposed to nuclear power. News, diary. C/o 265 Seven Sisters Rd, London N4 2DE (sub: donation/sae).

GenEthics News

Genetic engineering, biotechnology and risks to our food/environment. David King, 22B St. Kilda's Rd, London, N16 5BZ (auch sub £14.95 to GenEthics News, Freeport(LON 6013), PO Box 6313, London N16 5BR). Tel 0181 809 4513.

Green Drum

A journal for the green movement. 18 Cofton Lake Rd, Birmingham B45 8PL (subscription £6.30/4 issues).

Globe

Bi-monthly green guide for the North. News, articles, events.

Red Cabbage Publishing, PO Box 519, Sheffield S11 8EQ (sub £8.40). Tel 0114 701656.

What Doctors Don't Tell You

Highlights pharmaceutical risks/malpractice and alternative approaches.

4 Wallace Road, London N1 2PG (sub £19.95).

Health: State-of-the-Art

New quarterly round-up of complementary medicine research includes nutrition, asthma, cancer, HIV, herbal and psychological approaches.

6 Alfred Rd, Windmill Hill, Bristol BS3 4LE (sub £20 to 'Health Research'). Tel 0117 635109.

Real World

Articles and reviews on ecopolitics.

91 Nuns Moor Road, Newcastle upon Tyne NE4 9BA (sub £6). Tel 0191 2730361.

Ethical Consumer

Aims to democratise the market. Boycott news, corporate information, product reports, research.

ECRA Publishing Ltd, Freeport (MR9429), Manchester M1 8DR (sub £15/6 issues). Tel 0161 237 1630.

Permaculture magazine

Solutions for sustainable living.

Permanent Publications, Hyden House Limited, Little Hyden Lane, Clonfield, Hamps. PO8 0RL (sub £8). Tel 01705 596500.

Clean Slate

Centre for Alternative Technology bulletin. Machynlleth. Powys SY20 9AZ (£12/8.50). Tel 01654 702400.

"Let's-link!"

Local exchange networks news. 20,000+ people involved, doubling yearly.

Liz Shephard, 61 Woodcock Rd, Warminster, BA12 9DH. Tel 01985 217 871. Will give you

mags, comics, rants... Send yours.

PO Box B, 111 Magdalen Rd, Oxford, OX4 (£1.20/copy)

Black Flag

Global/national resistance, articles, reviews from an anarchist perspective.

BM Hurricane, London WC1N 3XX (sub £6/4 issues)

Squall

'Magazine for assorted itinerants' (eg Festival-goers, hunt sabs, ravers, eco-activists). 56 pages. C/o 2 St Paul's Road, London, N1 2QN (£2/copy or donation + sae(50p))

Red Pepper

Major new socialist monthly.

3 Gunthorpe St, London E1 7RP (sub £30/15). Tel 0171 247 1702.

POD

Underground magazine for DIY culture and resistance. Includes anti-CJA, LETS schemes, roads protest etc.

PO Box 23, London SE4 1SW.

Scottish Anarchist

News and articles from an anarchist perspective. New publication.

C/o Glasgow Anarchist Group, PO Box 1008, Glasgow G42 8AA.

Lesbian/Gay Freedom Movement

Anarchist sexual liberation newsletter LGFM, BM Box 207, London WC1N 3XX.

Information for Social Change

Alternatives to censorship/control of information. New.

14 Hugh Miller Place, Edinburgh, Scotland EH3 5JG (£5/2 issues to "C.F. Atton")

Organise!

For class struggle anarchism. Global news, analysis and features.

C/o 84b Whitechapel High St, London E1 (sub £3/4 issues)

Taking Liberties

Supports political prisoners and prison resisters, UK and international.

Anarchist Black Cross, 121 Raiton Road, London SE24 0LR (send sae/donation).

Contraflow

Anarchist news and protest from London.

56a Infoshop, 56 Crampton St, London SE17 (Free. Send sae/donation).

The Right to Party

And to protest/travel/squat/hunt sab/assemble/festival...

Advance Party, PO Box 3290, London, NW2 3VJ.

Freedom Network

Tel 0171 738 6721

Animal Rights

The New Abolitionist

New radical anti-vivisection/pharmaceutical newsletter—no compromises.

British Anti-Vivisection Association, PO Box 82, Kingswood, Bristol, BS15 1YF.

Fauna

News and articles on animal rights, drug industry, vivisection, health. 40 pages.

Health Action Network PO Box 43, Hull HU1 1AA (sub £4/£2 for 4 issues).

International

Alternative Press Review

New radical guide to magazines 'beyond the mainstream'. 80+ pages.

CAL Press, POB 1446, Columbia, MO 65205-1446 (sub \$24 surface).

Tranet

Global bi-monthly round-up of green, alternative and new paradigm news, initiatives and publications.

PO Box 567, Rangeley ME 04970-0567, USA. (sub \$30, no UK rate given).

Society and Nature

Impressive heavyweight journal of radical ecopolitics with Chomsky, Bookchin, green economics, ecofeminism.



From: Zapatista solidarity demonstration poster, Amsterdam

PO Box 637, Littleton, CO 80160-0637 USA (sub £17).

In Context

Quarterly of Humane Sustainable Culture. Wide-ranging articles, reviews on ecological, cultural, political issues.

PO Box 11470, Bainbridge Island, WA 98110 USA (sub \$24, no UK rate given). Tel 206 8420216.

Adbusters

Cultural subversion and critiques of advertising, technology, shopping, TV; good spoof ads. Colourful, professional. 90 pages.

The Media Foundation, 1243 West 7th Ave, Vancouver, BC, V6H 1B7 (sub US\$40 air).

ReVision

Scholarly journal on spirituality, medicine, ecology, consciousness research, the new paradigm.

Heldref Publications, 1319 Eighteenth St, NW, Washington, DC 20036-1802 (sub \$44).

Journal of Scientific Exploration

A challenging and scholarly exploration of 'the frontiers of knowledge': Psi, anomalous phenomena, healing etc.

ERL 306, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305-4055 USA (sub \$40/4 issues).

Utne Reader

Glossy bi-monthly round-up of the best of US mainstream alternative press. Plus reviews. 160 pages.

LENS Publ Co Inc, 1624 Harmon Place, Minneapolis, MN 55403 USA (sub \$38 surface/\$50 air). Tel 612 338 5040.

Elmwood Quarterly

Sustainable living, spirituality, new paradigm philosophy from Fritjof Capra and others.

PO Box 5766, Berkeley, CA 94705 USA. Tel 510 845 4595.

Profane Existence

'Making punk a threat again'. US anarcho-politics, global news, protest, music.

From: Active Distribution, BM Active, London WC1N 3XX (sub £5 to 'Active Distribution').

The Blast!

US/UK anarcho newspaper.

Sub £5 to 'Active Distribution' (address above).

Multinational Monitor

Critical review of multinational activity worldwide. Oil, GATT, pollution, privatisation, corporate villainy. Founded by Ralph Nader.

PO Box 19405, Washington, DC 20036 USA (sub \$40/10 issues).

Muckraker

Journal of investigative reporting.

568 Howard St, 5th Floor, San Francisco CA 94105-3008 USA (sub \$30/\$25 low income).

Tel 415 543 1200.

In These Times

Fortnightly left/alternative newsmag.

2040 N. Milwaukee Ave, Chicago, IL 60647 (sub \$75.95). Tel 312 772 0100.

Green Left Weekly

Well-distributed left-green weekly newspaper with articles, events/meetings diary etc. No UK equivalent!

PO Box 394, Broadway, NSW 2007 Australia.



details of your local group.

Green Teacher

Practical help for education as if the Earth mattered. Bi-monthly.

Damian Randic, Machynlleth SY20 8DN (sub £12/6 issues). Tel 01654 702278.

Down to Earth

Norfolk's well-produced green magazine, with global scope.

38 Exchange Street, Norwich, NR2 1AX (sub £7). Tel 01603 763780.

Talking Stick

Quarterly journal of the Native American Educational Trust.

21 Little Preston St, Brighton BN1 2HQ (sub £10). Tel 01273 328357.

Anti-authoritarian/left

Here and Now

Dense, interesting discussions of media, left, protest, work, culture; reviews.

C/o 28 King St, Glasgow G1 5QP or PO Box 109, Leeds LS5 3AA (sub £3.50).

Free Information Network

Network of groups from Cornwall to Aberdeen producing local newssheets with music, protest, festivals, upcoming events.

Eg: Guildford PIN, PO Box 217, Guildford, Surrey GU2 6FF; London PIN, c/o 99 Torriano Ave, London, NW5 2RX (Send sae/donation).

Bypass

Review of self-published material.